Youth, Urban Management & Public Space

Reconciling Social Exclusion and Urban Renaissance

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2005.

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...For my Folks...

Acknowledgements

There are a lot of people I wanted to thank and a lot of people who've helped me out in getting this work to this stage. I want to thank you all but I can't possibly so I want to flag up a few very special folk who've been central to me getting to where I am.

First and foremost are my parents whose unshakable belief and support has kept me sane and fed for many a year and whose kind words and encouragement have kept me on the path in trying times; also my undergraduate tutor Tony Chapman whose faith in my ability inspired me to begin this PhD in the first place; my friends and colleagues in the department, particularly Rose and David who gave me the opportunity to teach for the first time and shared many a kind word of advice, and to all those others who shared their experiences and knowledge so freely, I thank you.

Marian, Caroline, Elizabeth, Kim & the admin. team, far too often unsung heroes. Thanks for keeping the wheels turning beneath me, lending a much needed sympathetic ear and for all the support you so readily give.

To all the participants in this research, young and old, from across the city of Newcastle I'd dare to hope this research might lead to better things for you all, and for your time and participation I'm truly grateful…

…but most of all my two supervisors, who both left during the 5 years I spent at Newcastle, moving onto greater things than supervising such a idealistic and at times difficult and opinionated young man (hopefully you didn't go just *because* of me). I daresay through the heated debates and calm discussion, through the pilot cases and the changing themes and subjects, through my own development and your varieties of frustration and delight at my progress and pitfalls, it's been quite a ride. To Steve and Jon… this thing better get through! I know where you live!

…and sincerely *thank you* for getting me, us and this research to its conclusion.

Abstract of Research

The city is under siege. It is under siege from capital and from the entrepreneur. Projects for regeneration of public spaces in commercial core of the city have increasingly become modelled on notions of economic success developed in partnership with the commercial interests of the private stake-holder, rather than civic notions of participatory appraisal.

As such, the public spaces of the city centre are more and more defined by commercial concepts of 'appropriateness', supported by the mistrust and fear that underpins the contemporary normative moral landscape of collective public experience. Public spaces are less and less free and creative, and new entrepreneurial institutions of urban management influence the control of activities; activity and morality appear to become more and more legislated and regulated, and those on the margins of the normative conceptual acceptability are increasingly targeted as anti-social nuisances.

This is an interdisciplinary research project addressing the tensions in urban renaissance, as they unfold in the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne. The research highlights the effect of changing systems and processes of spatial management upon the use of key public spaces in the city centre, particularly emphasising stylistically distinct youth groups or 'collectively distinct tribes'. The focus is on the tensions between the local council, the local police, the traders around the Old Eldon Square area and the stylistically distinct youth groups, known as 'Skaters', 'Goths' and 'Charvers' or 'Chavs'. Conflict between these groups has led to a rise in the awareness of these tensions amongst the general public, the business community and the social and security managerial institutions tasked with maintaining and developing the city centre.

This research unpacks the interplay of spatial production emphasising the differences between tribal narratives of lived experience *in situ* and the renaissance driven strategic planning of the city centre in order to distinguish how far there is a separation between the conceptual space of the manager and the lived realities of diverse youth groups. This is all the more relevant in the light of recent changes to behavioural legislation, the perception of what is appropriate activity in public and the pressures that an increasingly fearful public urban culture place upon young people in public spaces of the city.

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Acronym List

OES	-	Old Eldon Square
NCC	-	Newcastle City Council
PCS	-	Parks & Countryside Service
PYS	-	Play & Youth Service
PTD	-	Planning & Transportation Division
CCM	-	City Centre Manager
CCSM	-	City Centre Services Managers
OESWG	-	Old Eldon Square Working Group / Holocaust Memorial Day Working Group
BYPP	-	Brunswick Young Peoples Project
CSC	-	Capital Shopping Centres
VCS	-	Voluntary & Community Sector
BIDs	-	Business Investment Districts
CCAP	-	City Centre Action Plan
PGSS	-	Parks and Green Spaces Strategy
GFG	-	Going For Growth
LTP	-	Local Transport Plan
UDP	-	Unitary Development Plan
LRF	-	Local Regeneration Framework
LNRS	-	Local Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy
PPG	-	Planning Policy Guidance
RPG	-	Regional Planning Guidance
RCS	-	Regional Cultural Strategy
SRB	-	Single Regeneration Budget
NGO	-	Non-Government Organisation
ATCM	-	Association of Town Centre Managers
NYA	-	National Youth Agency
ODPM	-	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
RDA	-	Regional Development Agency
TSO	-	The Stationary Office

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Chapter 1.
Introduction

Space and culture have become central concepts to many researchers across many disciplines. Each has subtly or wildly different approaches to understanding the economic, social and cultural changes at work, and the impact of these changes on an increasingly urban society (Harvey 1990, 1993; Zukin 1995, 1998; Williams 2003).

This cross-disciplinary research is about the interplay between different groups and the tensions that arise as a result in the space and culture of contemporary city centres. In developing research across several disciplines there are often significant barriers that must be overcome. Any attempt to bridge the gaps between the broad reaches of sociology, planning, cultural geography and anthropology must consider carefully theoretical connections and the appropriate use of terminology and suitable research structures; as well as methodologies. If this framework is developed to a high enough standard then, and only then, is it possible to proffer a fresh and dynamic empirical appraisal of what is happening to space and culture in our cities today.

In this thesis the framework of theory and method is connected to the empirical research across disciplines is by the use of a conceptual 'interplay' at several levels of discourse. The key to this is in connecting concurrent themes and terminological 'harmonics', bringing together research driven from structural 'top-down' traditions (Harvey 1989, 1990) with work that focuses more on anthropological or 'bottom-up' material (Flusty 2000, 2001). For example the interplay between 'public' and 'private' spaces, management and use in the city centre, or between the identities and activities of different individuals and groups, be they peer groups, commercial associations, managerial institutions or otherwise all have a part to play in the interplay of interests *and* actions in the city[1]. From this perspective interaction between groups and individuals can be seen to unfold moment to moment across space, and through time. This interaction or 'interplay' forms the empirical 'meat and bones' of this research.

Setting the Scene

It has been suggested that many of the tensions experienced between groups in the city and broader society have been brought about by the increasing influence of a 'culture of consumption' at all levels of human activity (Fuat Firat & Dholakia 1998). The consumption of the commercial is a key undercurrent throughout this research, which will endeavour to develop the influence of 'commercial interests' as a key indicator in the separation of conceptual approaches and lived realities of urban public space through the interplay between young people and urban managers.

This research aims to develop concerns expressed in recent years around the changing nature of public space in city centres, the changing formation of public spatial provision and the perception of both users of public space and the public itself. This covers the reformation of managerial institutions, the affect of national policy on local strategies and tactics and different interpretations of the role and perception of young people in public space, be they valid or undesirable.

Youth, Urban Management & Social Exclusion

It has become a challenge to both urban theory and the key actors tasked with governing the city centre to reconcile the need for a competitive commercial city with the potential of management practices to effect social exclusion. Nowhere else is this as relevant in the development and regeneration of increasingly commercial public spaces. The nature of social *exclusion*, either in relation to, or as a result of, the ongoing changes to urban management and urban public space becomes particularly important when looking at groups who may not fit into the user demographies typically targeted by policies of social *inclusion*. Breaking down the key terms under discussion here is a good starting point to unpacking this complex conundrum.

Young people or 'Youth' are at a unique social and cultural juxtaposition of social development, consumer activity, and political citizenship. For the purpose of this thesis the term youth is taken to mean those who fall between the broad age range of

pre-teens to mid-twenties with an emphasis on the transition from 'childhood' to 'adulthood'.

During these extended transitions into adult citizenship tensions often arise around this dynamic group allowing both positive and negative aspects of interplay to develop. In a rapidly changing urban environment these tensions have not been discussed with any rigour, particularly with an interest in developing deeper understandings of interplay that connect young people to urban management *and* public space[2]. Whilst a vast body of research discusses the inclusion and exclusion of those groups whom it is politically expedient to emphasise (e.g. ethnicity or poverty debates) there are other groups whose exclusion becomes implicit by oversight. It can be argued that some youth demographics are seen as unimportant or provision for them is assumed rather than enforced; in this way the potential exists for exclusion to become 'institutionalised' (Kelly 2003) within the machinery of governance and thus the broader strategies and tactics of urban management.

In this research 'urban management' can be seen both as the institutional actors who are tasked with enforcing change and the systemic strategies and tactics of urban policy with which this is achieved. This is relevant specifically at this time due to the development and widespread implementation of new policies such as New Labour's 'Urban Renaissance' (D.E.T.R 2000), and the widely discussed 'cultural turn' in planning policy (Evans 2001). These issues have become central to discussion on the tensions of 'privatisation', 'gentrification' (Lees 2003) and the impact of commercial or even 'entrepreneurial' understandings of 'open' space (Harvey 1989; Jessop 1997; Cooper 1998; MacLeod 2002; Ward 2003) where the tensions between explicit provision and implicit exclusion are most apparent in central city areas.

The direction of provision in newly emergent plans for the future of cities prioritises a high quality aesthetically pleasing environment, safety and ease of access (O.D.P.M 2004). However the piecemeal misunderstanding of policies by key actors (Hetherington 2002) who emphasise design, significantly conflate this with the perceived need for perpetual economic growth in city centres; these factors have created further tensions in the access of some minorities to both the process of decision-making *and* the spaces created.

New strategies and tactics of urban management, it can be argued, extend beyond design-led redevelopment and in fact have begun to significantly affect and react to the perception of users and their activities, with the result that a shift in what is deemed acceptable behaviour is mirrored in behavioural legislation of the anti-social (HMSO 2003; Williams 2004) and increasing use of surveillance, as either a public order maintenance tool or a social control mechanism (Norris & Armstrong 1999; McCahill 2000, 2003; Klauser 2004). Increasingly, as a result, a healthy city is seen in management 'cultures' to be synonymous with commercial and economic growth as opposed to spontaneity of experience on its streets. Research has begun to portray this as having engendered a negative impact on creative and spontaneous activities and the 'publicness' of public space (see for example Sorkin 1992; 1992a; Zukin 1995; Ritzer 1996; Gottdeiner 1997; Jackson 1998; Flusty 2000, 2001).

In this context the general urban public appears to be steeped in a climate of mistrust. Broad ranging concerns about terrorism and security become moral panics (Furedi 2002), themselves stimulating an increasing fear of difference and personal security in public space (Pain 2000; Sparks et al. 2001; Shirlow & Pain 2003), further heightening the tensions between the need for tighter control over public order in public space and civil liberties. This has developed to the extent that academics have begun to discuss the tension between entrepreneurial renaissance strategies and the impact of an apparent revenge or tactical 'revanchism' on the street (Smith 1996; MacLeod 2002; Atkinson 2003). Despite research focusing on the minutiae of these tensions little research bridges the gaps between the managerial actors at the different levels of decision-making and strategy, to the tactics on the ground and the reality of lived experiences for the most affected groups. Some attempts to develop this understanding, particularly in relation to young people, are however beginning to raise the need for a multi-layered ethnography of spatial production (White 1996; Hil & Besant 1999; Miles 2003b, 2003a).

The potential exists to build a bottom-up investigation into the 'lived-experiences' of minority youth cultures *in situ* relating the alternative or 'other' cultural experiences of the city centre to the changing cultures and policies of governance and management[3]. On a micro-level the lived experience of managerial influences should also be unpacked where possible. This has been broached in recent ethnographic

research into the 'lived experience' of maintenance workers (e.g. surveillance operators) on the job in commercial spaces (Norris & Armstrong 1999; McCahill 2000) and also by fine-grained narrative analysis of managerial processes[4].

When placed within the ongoing regeneration of city centre public space this interdisciplinary approach creates a series of tensions between the changing nature of cities, the changing 'spatial practices' of city centre management and the effects of change on 'lived experiences' of commercial public spaces in city centres for both minorities (such as youth), institutions tasked with maintenance of order (such as surveillance operators) and managers (such as TCM, and civic government).

Although ethnographic research from cultural geographers in to these issues has begun to uncover; '*evidence of diverse and contradictory cultural activities, some conforming to, others resisting, and some simply mutating the dominant message of consumption*' (Warren 1996: 553), but these projects have generally been focused tightly on *one* culture analysing cultural activity *in isolation* from other groups. From this direction researchers are in danger of ignoring the tensions created in the interplay of spatial practices *between* the cultural activities of *different* urban cultures. Acknowledging some of these tensions is the main context setting objective of this chapter in introducing the reconciliation of competitiveness and social exclusion. The purpose is thus to understand the interplay of youth subcultures and urban managerial actors in the production and consumption of commercial public space in the city centre.

Aims & Objectives

This research unpacks some of the inherent tensions in Western urban policy between a design-led urban renaissance and rhetoric's of revanchism but does so with an emphasis on young people's citizenship in public space. The fine-grained case study (see below - methodology) demonstrates, on one hand, the ways in which new urban management strategies are attempting to create 'single-minded' public spaces focused upon economic concepts of use; and on the other hand how young people – seen as the latest 'moral panic' – are systematically – through explicit and implicit strategies

and tactics - displaced and dispersed from the pseudo-public spaces of the city centre. The aim of this research is to investigate the potential for policy to create a system of dispersal and show how local structures 'manage' inclusion and exclusion through regulation, demonisation of difference as the 'Other'. Further this work aims to uncover attempts to 'design-out' specific activities portrayed as 'quality of life offences'.

This research also offers some tentative glimpses into ways in which minority users of the city might increasingly be given a voice in the planning process by highlighting 'street phenomenology' (Kusenbach 2003) methods which emphasise 'lived experience' and 'lifestyle'. The objective is to clearly demarcate successes in participatory governance and failures in urban management where the reconciliation of young people's activities and commercial interests are framed in terms of social exclusion, social inclusion and urban competitiveness.

The Thesis Structure

When this research was first developed it was intended to conduct two separate ethnographic reviews of a change in one public space from the perspective of managers and from the perspective of users. It quickly became clear that the distinct hermeneutic boundaries of both space and key groups of actors implied by this approach were a fiction. There are in fact complex layers of interplay between lifestyle and policy, as well as the individual and group understandings of each other as managers, users and broader participants (such as commercial or Voluntary and Community Sector (VCS) agencies). In order to manage the research effectively three themes were developed to interconnect these issues, offering unique position from which to view the interstices between theoretical underpinnings, empirical data and critical analysis.

- The *Production* and *Management* of commercial public space (chapters 2 & 7)
- *Young People* and the *Use* of commercial public space (chapters 3 & 8)
- The *Interplay* at different levels of production and use in practice (chapters 4 & 9)

These themes offer a guideline to the narrative but also cut across one another consequently the introduction to the key themes is linked here to the broader structure of the thesis as a whole.

Theoretical Themes: Production and Management of Commercial Public Spaces

In understanding the production and management of commercial public space there are two approaches addressed in this research, the theoretical understanding of spatial production and the practical understanding of management strategy.

The theoretical foundations underpinning this research are built upon a reapplication of 'The Production of Space' (Lefebvre 1974). Lefebvre's conceptual triad of spatial production is discussed and unpacked to demonstrate the tensions between the concept of space (representations of space), the lived space (representational spaces) and the connecting processes of spatial production (spatial practices) (see 2.1). This assessment allows for a refined definition of 'public space' itself to be developed asking how the public is defined and experienced.

It is important to use this definition as a neutral base from which to assess the broad managerial approaches to public space inherent in current policy. The influence of commercial interests on urban management are assessed focussing on; redevelopment policies - as well as the strategies and tactics of 'entrepreneurial management' (Harvey 1989; Boyle & Hughes 1994; Jessop 1997; Griffiths 1998; MacLeod 2002; Ward 2003), 'cultural planning' (Evans 2001) and 'urban renaissance' (D.E.T.R 2000; O.D.P.M 2004) developed by the New Labour government build upon this foundation (Lees 2003; Moulaert et al. 2004). The context of a managerial understanding of the public in turn sets up the discussion of design-led architectural changes and the potential for shifts in the broader historical influence of 'themed' consumption on public space (Gottdeiner 1997; Hannigan 1998) as well as the 'knock on' effect this may have on managerial concepts of appropriate use (see 2.2).

By developing the connections between managerial strategies and commercial interests a framework for the separation of managerial understandings of public space from the conceptual definition emerges. The broad tableau presented asks, initially, if

the responses to urban decline in entrepreneurial strategic policy can be seen to engender a prescriptive, commercially driven concept of design in public space and if so can this be seen to inform socially exclusive tactics for managing public activity as a result. In this context is it possible for the non-consuming public, or for the unsightly or uncomfortable 'Other' to be 'designed out' of the city centre entirely (Worpole & Greenhalgh 1996).

By bringing these issues together within the broad theme of production and management of commercial public space it can be demonstrated that there is a connection running through commercial interests to civic management that is reinforced by current trends in managerial practice. In effect the culture of entrepreneurialism in management strategy thus entails the potential to skew managerial approaches to the public in favour of more private commercial interests. It will be argued that this debate raises tensions in management rhetoric's which themselves present a view of the city centre, and of public space, as an exclusive environment which privileges '*one kind of activity*', being consumption of products or *shopping*, and increasingly '*one kind of user – the consumer*' (Reeve 1996: 62).

Theoretical Themes: Young People & the Use of Commercial Public Space

The approaches previously taken to researching youth and how this informs current understandings around the specific actions and uses of space enacted by young people forms a broad base in this theme. This is advanced by connecting prior youth cultural research to the perception of youth (and youth activity) using the theoretical lens of spatial production as a tool for understanding the orientation of management tactics; specifically those which target young people and their lived experiences of public space *in situ*.

In understanding the construction of identity amongst young people it is important to understand the ethnographic traditions within cultural studies that have become dominant in this aspect of youth research (Hebdige 1980; Turner 1990; Redhead 1993; O'Connor & Wynne 1996; Redhead 1997)[5]. This then has to be brought up to date with current approaches to youth (McClary 1994; Bennet 1999, 2000; Hodkinson 2002) before attempting to spatialise youth cultural research within the developing

field of cultural geography (Valentine 1996; Massey 1998; Valentine et al. 1998). The historical perceptions of youth identity can thus be combined with activities presently occurring within specific spaces. These disparate threads of enquiry are woven together to give a more holistic appraisal of the position and role of youth culture in the commercial public spaces of the city centre addressing how youth identity is constructed in commercial public space (see 3.1). From this the research develops an understanding of how young people view and experience the urban public.

The perception of youth is then refined by spatialising the notion of acceptability in order to show how the themes connect to create a truly dynamic system of spatial production. Developing acceptability and morality in the perception of youth is central to this complex aspect of interplay. This allows for the theoretically grounded moral perception of youth to be applied within youth participation in spatial management (Bessant 2003; Kim 2003). The questions of morality or the 'moral panic'[6], acceptability and the 'Otherness' of youth, both as victims and perpetrators (Hay 1995; Doyle 1998; Victor 1998; Baeten 2002) can then be linked to 'lifestyle' and the dynamics of spatial production (Miles 2003b, 2003a).

Some research in this theme has stated that youth groups are often seen as different and therefore dangerous making public space seem like '*dangerous places*' (Campbell 1993). This perception of youth as 'intimidating' is often linked via spatial concerns to the elderly or single women (Worpole & Greenhalgh 1996: 19-20) and their 'fear of crime'[7] (Furedi 2002: 16). This develops the tensions raised above about the 'revanchism' of urban renaissance, placing young people in the frame for consideration as a key group affected by this revenge on urban space; often resulting in the design, installation and maintenance of a controlled consumer environment more similar to the highly competitive and tightly controlled environment of the shopping mall (Jackson 1998). It can be argued that these concerns are born from within the New Labour rhetoric on a cogent middle-class morality, their awareness of space as a pre-existing site rather than as a process (Cooper 1998) and the presuppositions in most 'management institutions' that youth are troublesome (Kelly 2003).

This connects the broader theme of fear (and safety) to that of diversity (and identity) bringing the perception of young people by managers, businesses, local and national media and the general public into focus as a key contributor to the management of young people's activity and their participation in the management of commercial public spaces (see 3.2). The potential for reconciliation of youth and urban management in public space through the development of a deeper understanding of such elements of 'interplay' form the key tensions here researched.

Theoretical Themes: Interplay between Production & Use of Commercial Public Space

This final theoretical theme has several threads. The first develops the specific institutions amongst management who are seen as examples of a new managerial entrepreneurialism (see 4.1); either as structurally focussed strategic planners or ground level intermediaries between decision-makers and users. This also demonstrates specific examples of agencies linked to the implicit or explicit exclusion of undesirable groups (ATCM 2000b, 2000a; Baldock 2002; ATCM 2003), offers examples of successes and failures in strategic urban policy in encouraging participation by young people, and highlights the *third sector* that have attempted to, or are in the process of, building bridges between managers and youth minorities (Kim 2003; Worpole 2003).

Secondly (see 4.2) the experience of space by young people is revisited to address the potential impacts of more tactical aspects of spatial management, focusing on legislative management tactics (e.g. Anti-Social Behaviour Orders - ASBOs) (HMSO 2003) and surveillance targeting stereotypes of transgressive or antisocial groups and activities (Doyle 1998; Toon 2000; Klauser 2004). Examples are offered of creative attempts to bridge this widening gap between the design-driven concept of space and the ground level lived experience of space by engaging with key user groups or demographics *in situ*. Thirdly the theoretical production of space is reintroduced to show the minutiae of abstract and differential spaces, developing one version of the means by which the broader understandings of space held by these distinct groups and cultures are separated (Lefebvre 1974, 1999; Borden 2000, 2001).

By covering all three of these aspects of urban management and lived experience the foundation for an empirical investigation of entrepreneurially driven commercial gentrification is thus *theoretically* informed. In developing an assessment of interplay from an *empirically* grounded perspective this research will form the substantive basis of future approaches to young people in urban management; bringing the central interests of the production and consumption of space together with an inclusive account of the different perceptions and definitions applied to youth (sub)cultures.

Research, Methods, Tactics & Context

The focus of this research is a single case study (see chapter 5 for details on research methods) of an instrumental public space in the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne, Old Eldon Square (OES)[8]. Though the main focus of the case study is on this specific space it is embedded in the spatial network of the city centre and cannot be seem as hermeneutically bounded or separate from this context. As such reference is also made to the management and use of the city centre as a network of connected spaces.

A large qualitative data set has been developed using a wide range of sources (see chapter 5). This includes:

- Semi-structured interviews - focus groups and one-on-one (60 approx)
- Historical data – linking with historical archives around OES
- Government documents – including planning proposals, public consultations & council meeting minutes
- Media output – including TV documentaries, third sector visual media reports, newspaper articles in national and local press

A series of broad context setting definitions of the specific space at the centre of the network was required to focus the empirical narrative; also offering some general context on the structure of management in Newcastle at the time the research was undertaken (chapter 6)[9]. This all adds to the tightly focussed discussion of key actors and agencies involved in the management of Old Eldon Square throughout this period.

Empirical Research: Management & Concepts

Representing OES as commercial public space requires that the key actors and agencies and their strategic policies for redevelopment be placed in the context of the specific space under investigation. The body of this chapter therefore addresses how managerial (subgroups of the city council) and security institutions (both public and private) view and represent commercial public space in their respective strategic policies and tactics.

For clarity this is divided into two sections. This first assesses the general policy and tactics of each sub-group before assessing the strategic and tactical strengths and weaknesses of each approach to public space. This chapter also rounds up some of the issues and implications to the management of public space as a whole from the perspective of civic managerial actors and public security institutions (see 7.1)

This analysis is developed into an assessment of the commercial sector and linked to commercial public space in order to connect the threads of aesthetics with gentrification to assess the blurring of distinctions between public and private spaces in practice; undertaken through a narrowing the focus, on plans for the regeneration of OES specifically, at the centre of the network of public spaces in Newcastle upon Tyne (see 7.2). The potential for a privatisation of use-value through consultation leads onto the discussion of use in the next chapter.

Empirical Research: Perception of Youth & Use-Values

In chapter 8, particularly, the narrative cuts across several themes in grounding the theoretical debates to the empirical substance of the research. Notions of territorially driven collective distinctiveness (developed in chapter 3) are here applied to the use of OES by young people. The key user groups from a perception of aesthetics and cultural distinction are classified[10] as are the general activities with which they are engaged or associated by their peer groups. Here the focus is very much on self-classification, identity and use-values given to young people by other young people linking the tribal and territorial nature of the groups to the reality of tensions between

them as perceived by the participants in the cultures at the ground level understanding thus the specific spatial practices of identity and activity by young people (see 8.1).

Interpreting spatial practices on location in line with the previous discussion on policy must then be developed through the external perceptions of young people, this links to aesthetics; appropriateness and morality (see 3.2 above). The representations of youth in the press, by commercial actors, by key managers and by other groups in public are linked through the aesthetic understanding of how they look and the nature by which this informs the perception of youth activities as appropriate or anti-social (see 7.2). It is upon this understanding of appropriateness or anti-sociability that many of the actions and approaches to the management of youth are hung, thus moving towards the interplay of spatial production.

Empirical Research: Interplay & Intermediaries

The particular relevance of interplay emerges in connection with the increasing influence of new corporate-led institutions of urban management such as Town Centre Management (TCM) (Page & Hardyman 1996; Oc & Tiesdell 1997; Shutt et al. 2000). These groups are not accountable to the general populous in the same way as local government and this entrepreneurial shift has a direct bearing on the influence of commercial intermediaries (and private interests) in the orientation of policies for design, redevelopment, and spatial management with a knock on effect on integral aspects of citizenship, consultation and spatial management (Reeve 1996; Wooley 2000).

This empirical section ties together three aspects of the debate brought forth by the appraisals of policy, as strategy and tactics, and youth, through identity activity and perceptions thereof. Firstly it addresses the key intermediary actors, agencies and panels. These groups fill in gaps in hegemonic relations between the key sub-groups within the interplay (i.e. the council, business community, security agencies and public – being both youth and other users), by rounding up these groups the elusive key actors in interplay are tied down (see 9.1). Secondly key changes to OES driven from the top-down are assessed. This looks at specific actions affecting the physical fabric of the space itself and discusses the reasons for each and the reactions to them

advancing the bridges by which the interplay is connected to each group (see 9.2). Thirdly the potential for dispersal and displacement of young people by these actions are developed, connecting the policies and strategies discussed previously to the perception of young people in terms of responses at several levels. The nature of each response and the key actor behind it is linked to exclusion and provision (see 9.3). This sets the scene for a focused analysis of the changes to OES engendered by both exclusion and provision.

Top-to-Bottom and Back Again

This research argues that the commercialisation of management is increasingly becoming directly responsible, as the main cause of social exclusion, for the failure of urban renaissance to include young people in both the processes of renaissance and the public spaces created through these strategies and tactics of urban renewal. This has direct repercussions on wider perceptions of young people and youth citizenship and thus has a contribution to make in a wide range of discussions on the policies and practices of the incumbent New Labour government – as well as commenting on the state of contemporary Western democratic society. It also shows that creative links with new cultural intermediaries in local government are emerging, and these are actively combating the effects of urban renaissance policies - which privilege limiting economic discourses and performance indicators and designify youth interests and displace young people from inconvenient and 'disorderly' youth spaces into less economically significant areas.

I argue in this work that it is increasingly likely that this complex web of commercial interests will continue to exclude youth until they are given more power as citizens. Situations where youth are excluded or included have developed together within this system of governance and each of these circumstances *can* be depicted clearly. Lessons for the future can thus be gleaned from these examples of good and bad practice. It is to this end that the analysis of the research is reapplied back to the effect of new managerial institutions and entrepreneurial policies on the management of youth and public space in the production of OES as a means of developing and understanding the reconciliation of social exclusion, social inclusion and urban competitiveness (see chapter 10).

Chapter 2.
THE PRODUCTION AND MANAGEMENT OF COMMERCIAL PUBLIC SPACE

To discuss and research the city, particularly the cities of the 20th century, is to enter a discourse of space. The process of research into the development of cities is, as such, often a debate on the teleological foundations behind the production of spaces. This chapter sets the context for a problematisation of this approach suggesting that theorists need to wed the design and purpose of spaces to the intentionality of the producer and the use of the public, through the processes of producing public spaces.

The key aim of this chapter is firstly, to offer a general definition of 'the public' and link this to public space, and secondly to set the scene for understanding the policies underpinning the redevelopment of public space in the contemporary city centre. In order to do this the chapter has been separated into two distinct sections.

The first of these looks at the definition of public space in theory and research. The conceptual foundations of the term are drawn out through a descriptive analysis of cross-disciplinary perspectives. Perhaps more importantly, the processes with which meaning is drawn from public space, and assess others within space are to be introduced. This offers some initial suppositions on the moral foundations of public life, using advancements of Lefebvre (1974). In demonstrating the need for a bottom-up analysis of space the interplay of these relationships is fed into a complicated and dynamic process of urban experience, grounded within this body of theory, concluding with a broad definition of public space; this provides a framework for the research as it progresses.

The second section serves to act as a focus for this theoretical introduction by offering a more empirically descriptive history of key concerns in contemporary urban redevelopment. Here the decline of the city centre is addressed, including some examples of managerial responses through the encroaching rhetorics of 'urban renaissance' in both strategic policy and practical tactics.

The shift in these managerial approaches to public space emphasise an entrepreneurial turn in policy both globally and locally[1]. By putting the increased importance of economic (re)growth as opposed to civic rights in context the blurred distinctions of culture and economy (i.e. cultural economic planning)[2], the emphasis on design, and prioritisation of high quality strategic planning can be seen as among the central changes in entrepreneurial strategy and tactics at several levels (Swyngedouw & Kaika 2003: 5-7). Developing the entrepreneurial link into research on public and commercial spaces is thus beneficial for understanding contemporary urban change.

The tensions apparent between commercial architecture and public space and the dominance of commercial concepts in city centre redevelopment strategies further elucidates the blurring of distinctions between commercial consumer spaces and democratic public spaces. This complements the policy based analysis of these distinctions by showing the conceptual drift in the managerial designs created by commercial demands placed upon the use of space in the city.

The rise of commercial spatial influence in 'cultural planning' will be developed as a demonstration of the slow skewing of the local planning agenda into an entrepreneurial strategic policy. Theory, policy and practice are as such brought together to offer substantive research questions on the production and management of commercial public space for further discussion in the empirical research.

2.1 The Changing Nature of 'Public Space'

'*The 1960's may have left it looking uglier, but at least it still had a clear purpose. The city then was the centre of social life, the place in which institutions naturally gathered, where ambitious corporations believed they had to have their headquarters...They were where we all looked for the kind of public life that gives cities their special quality... the chance meetings and random, unexpected social accidents of life. They were characterised by the café and the courthouse as well as the cinema and the university. The city centre was also the place that could accommodate the awkward, not always picturesque aspects of urban reality that the suburbs find too uncomfortable to deal with... The changes, social as well as technological, of the 1990's are threatening their very existence*' (Sudjic 1996 citied in Oc & Tiesdell 1997: 1)

The foundations of this research project must begin by assessing the broad applications of the term '*public*' as applied to the contemporary city centre. To begin this introduction will offer an understanding of how the different definitions of the public can be combined to create a comprehensive definition of what public space is, and how we, as users of the public, produce and interpret both the space itself and the other users of that space. Secondly, the very nature of the public as a space under threat is introduced through this theoretical lens (to be expanded upon in the second part of this chapter).

The aim here is to suggest that the foundations on which public civility and society operate are grounded in a moral consensus. The possibility that this consensus or 'moral code' is changing as the city centre, and its use, have changed throughout the 20th century will be connected to the perception of appropriate uses, and users, of public space. This context of change in public space will be problematised by applying the conceptual triad (representations of space, representational spaces and spatial practice), as presented by Lefebvre (1974), to this productive paradigm of public space today. This assesses how individuals and groups begin to produce the nature and meaning of public space through and over time. The resulting linkages between management of the conceptual public and the lived experience of mental,

social and physical aspects of being in 'public'; leads towards a definition of the term itself. This application of the conceptual triad is vital to the development of the research project. As such, the initial question under consideration in this section is the development of how the public is defined and experienced.

The term 'public' is a contested and difficult term to define as there are several different interpretations in urban research across a number of disciplines. Many are centred upon similar key principles and cover a broad range of ideas. This has left the public, as a concept, vague and ill-defined with conflicting interpretations. It is also possible to develop a link between these conceptual frameworks; connecting what is considered as the public 'realm', and sometimes the public 'sphere', with a more applied idea of public 'space'; this will lead us towards a more solid and applied definition that forms a grounding for the theoretical 'bones' of this project.

The Contested Nature of the Public

For Bianchini in the 'Out of Hours' project, conducted in Liverpool at the end of the 20th century, the public 'realm' was seen:

'*as "the realm of social relations going beyond ones own circle of family, professional and social relations ... the idea of the public realm is bound up with the ideas of discovery, of expanding ones mental horizons, of the unknown, of surprise, of experiment, of adventure*"' (Bianchini 1990: 4)

This interpretation of the public is echoed by Charles Landry (Landry 2000: 119) and prioritises the action and agency of individuals to make choices and follow individualised courses of action; this emphasises familiarity through '*social relations*'[3]. However these social relations have been defined as the public 'sphere' by Habermas (1962):

'*In Habermas's usage, the public sphere in modern society is the social domain that mediates between civil society (the economic realm of commodity exchange and social labour) and the state.*' (Stevenson 1998: 189)

Conflating the public 'realm' and the public 'sphere' at this point is useful in developing a singular definition of the public (but certain differences become apparent in the application of these terms in practice). These idiosyncrasies prevent either from becoming applied holistically as a broad definition of the public. Further Bianchini's approach notes that the public is '*bound up with the ideas of discovery, of expanding ones mental horizons, of the unknown, of surprise, of experiment, of adventure*' (1990: 4). The mental process of decision-making in social relations or the cognitive reaction of individuals to strangers is central to this approach.

Thus there is a connection between mental processes and social relations as a moment of interaction in public space. In public people come into contact with unusual strangers and, as individuals, have to negotiate the space through the behavioural restrictions implicit in social 'relations'. They must process the space and any encounters mentally to be capable of assessing the appropriate action to take. The public realm seems firmly grounded in this social and mental approach through the understanding and perception of different 'others', where as the public sphere is a more disembodied system of mediation and negotiation[4]. This becomes critically important when we look at 'risk management' (Oc & Tiesdell 1997a), morality and fear (Furedi 2002) in relation to diverse 'others' (Chapter 3.2). In this case however this approach to the public as a systemic 'realm' of relative cognitive encounters and a disembodied 'sphere' of exchange values[5] makes the public appear abstract and discounts through omission geographical and spatial factors such as architecture and the physical body. Developing this further in other approaches to the public we can connect these factors more inclusively:

'*...the words chosen by two of the principle protagonists are strikingly similar. For one the public is 'not only a region of social life apart from the realm of family and close friends, but also ...[the] realm of acquaintances and strangers' (Sennet, 1992: 17). For another, the 'defining characteristics of public space [are] proximity, diversity, and accessibility (Zukin, 1995: 262)*" (Goheen 1998: 479)

Goheen's comparison brings, through the work of Sennet and Zukin, another key aspect of the public[6]. Sennet again only addresses the mental and/or social aspects of

the public through the abstract definition of an invisible, disembodied world of social relations and mental process. Zukin's approach however emphasises the role of difference with notions of *proximity* (an enforced closeness to these strangers and acquaintances), and *diversity* (the wide range of them available for interaction with); she also adds the notion of *accessibility* to a *space*. This concept of accessible public leads us to a spatial dimension by characterising public 'space' instead of the public 'realm' or 'sphere'.

As it has already been suggested, the discourse of the city is predominantly a discourse of space. Public space plays a pivotal role in this understanding; as such research into the social relations and mental realm of the public 'culture' must be grounded within a specific spatial framework or geographically based boundary, such as a street, a plaza, a park, or a square. These open areas are embodied, to a certain extent, by the 'use' to which they are put. This lends credence to the disembodied definition of the public, but it is integrally linked to the geographical and physical aspects of spatial boundaries and activity within them, essentially the public use or 'use-value'[7]:

'*The very best public spaces have rhythms and patterns of use of their own, being occupied at different times by quite different groups, occasionally by almost everybody. But their attractiveness, flexibility, and pluralist sense of ownership derived from their popularity, makes them immensely valuable to the life of the city*' (Worpole & Greenhalgh 1996: 15)

Public space in its ideal form is that space which is owned by no-one and yet belongs to everyone. However, for a space to be freely accessible in a 'realm' of perception based mental and social interpretations a consensus for the operation of the public becomes necessary:

'*...there are no absolute freedoms. The holders of freedom bear the responsibility not only for their own actions but also to ensure that they do not infringe upon the freedoms of others. In the contemporary period, the previously unwritten rules that governed public behaviour increasingly need to be codified*' (Oc & Tiesdell 1997c: 232)

Taken literally public areas in the contemporary city are more often spaces 'owned' by civic managerial bodies and managed on behalf of the general populous as a form of 'open space' (D.E.T.R 2000: 74-76), with a general consensus underpinning the use of public space as to the rules and actions that are appropriate within it, as guided by the normative 'moral code' of the era[8]. Thus, the idea of public sociability must to be placed in its spatial context and public activity in its codified format[9].

This in turn has a bearing on issues of access and social exclusion from public space for many minority groups, not the least of which is young people in the city centre (the experiences of youth are to be expanded in Chapter 3). The perception of morality is brought forwards as a key aspect of understanding this change in the very nature of public space in the city centre:

'*As city centres represent perhaps the last significant concentrations of public space, their diminishing significance as arenas of public life has raised concerns about the decline of the so called democratic public realm – democratic meaning, in this instance, universally accessible – and of public life more generally*' (Worpole & Greenhalgh 1996)

This has raised questions about the theoretical import of morality in the production of space, with a bearing on access and regulation of youth subcultural groups (see 3.2). Here, however, we are focused on the production of public space as a holistic theory used to underpin the approach to public space applied throughout the rest of the thesis.

The Production of Space and the Nature of the Public

In order for this research to create a theoretically grounded understanding of space, and thus the production of the public, the conceptual triad has been reapplied from '*The Production of space*' (Lefebvre 1974). Lefebvre supposes in this work that, despite appearing as a very complex phenomenon, the nature of public space can be developed further than the abstract layers of mental realms, moral codes and social

relations[10] by assessing the intricacies of 'production', thus informing the role of the public as a part of the living city.

What Lefebvre created was a *spatial* framework for the analysis of classical economic and social theories (such as Marxist economic production) by dividing the process of action and reaction to the socially founded public '*realm*' into a series of practices and processes, through these people interacted creating the '*production of space*' (1974). This offered a new method of separating the 'physical', 'mental' and 'social' (ibid: 1-9) interpretations of the public offered above. Further to this productive spatial separation Lefebvre theorised the '*means of production*' through space as the lead influence in constituting lived experience in capitalist society. This contrasted significantly with previous research, which had been largely dominated by Marxist '*critical political economics*'[11]. Lefebvre thus attempted to transcend this economic determinism:

'*What can be said without further ado is that the concepts of* production *and the* act of producing *do have a certain abstract universality...They were taken over in the past, admittedly, by specialised disciplines, especially by political economy; yet they have survived that annexation. By retrieving something of the broad sense that they had in certain of Marx's writings, they have shed a good deal of the illusory precision with which the economists had endowed them...*' (Lefebvre 1974: 15, original emphasis)

As a part of Lefebvre's approach to the '*production*' and the '*act of producing*' the physical design of the space (referred to above as the geographical boundaries but also includes the architectural design of the whole space) is 'deployed' as a mediator between the mental and social activity that occurs within space (ibid: 27) and the synergy of these three creates a conceptual triad between the '*perceived*', the '*conceived*' and the '*lived*' (Allen & Pryke 1994: 454), or what in more convoluted terms Lefebvre refers to as:

'*Spatial practice, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each*

member as a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance. [perceived]

Representations of space, which are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations. [conceived]

Representational spaces, embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, are linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces).[lived]' (Lefebvre 1974: 33, emphasis added - see figure 1)

The refinement of these three core conceptual ideas, the basic form of which has been provided above, forms the main substantive element of the production of space[12].

What is offered by the conceptual triad, in this format, is a definition of the form and process of interplay between diverse actors, architecture s and interests through which space is broken down into experience through the use of space (Lefebvre 1996). The influential applications of his perceptions of '*production*' can be reviewed with several of his theoretical assertions in the critical literature Lefebvre's work has provoked (Allen & Pryke 1994; Stewart 1995; Gottdeiner 2000; Borden 2001; Kipfer 2002).

The meaning of Lefebvre's conceptual triad can be unpacked critically and fits with the development of the nature of public space proposed in the opening section of this chapter. There are two formats of space that can be separate and distinct or connected and layered onto the same geographical and architectural frame. These two spaces are representations of space and representational spaces.

Perhaps the most important distinction Lefebvre makes is that these two are connected but distinguishable in the conceptual triad (Lefebvre 1974: 33-46), which is developed in depth throughout his work (ibid: 245, 288).

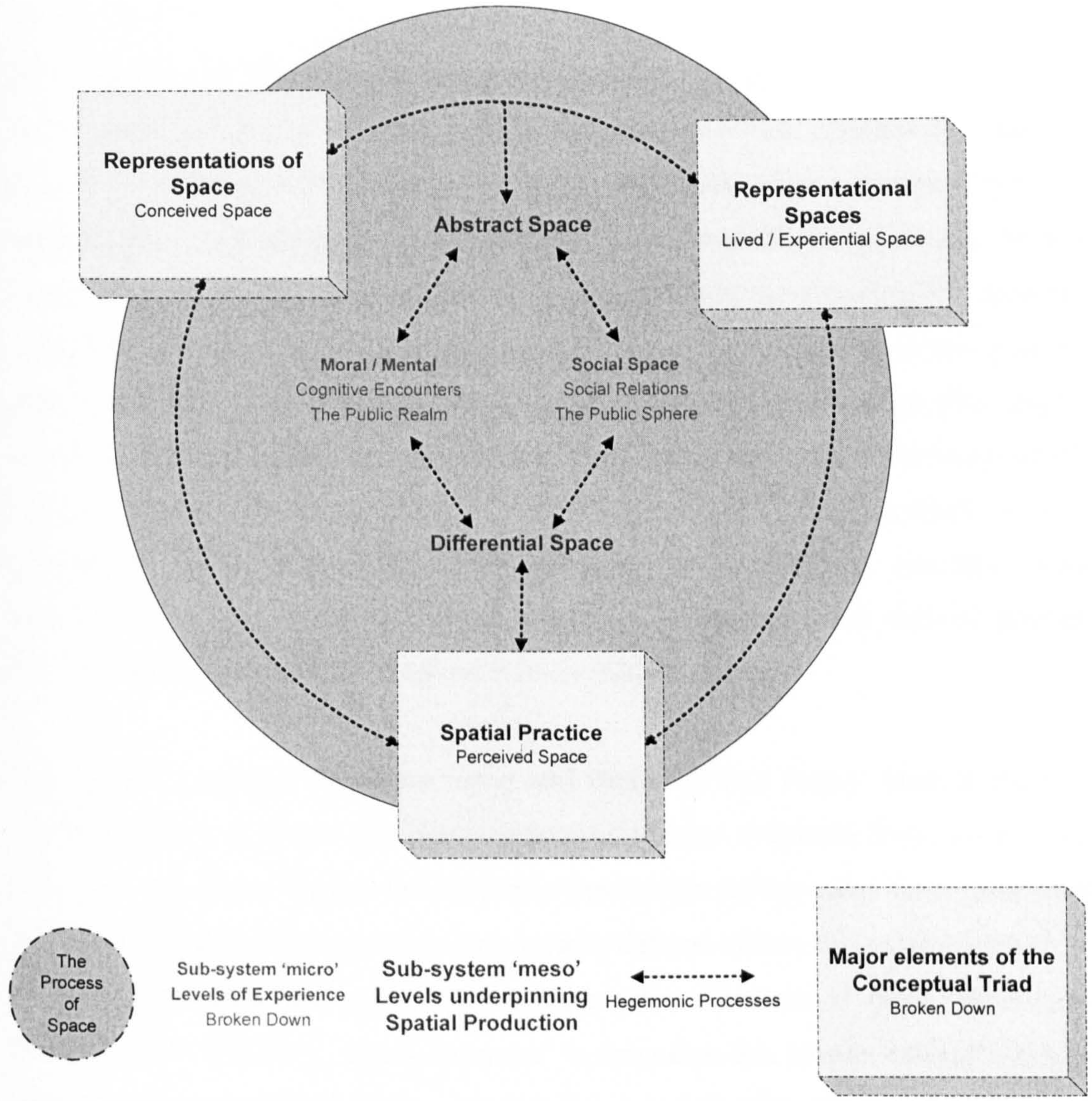


Figure 1. The Production of Space (hypothesised from Lefebvre - 1974)

'*Representations of space*' have been interpreted as '*rationality of planned urban locations or the meticulous design of an architectural projects*' (Allen & Pryke 1994: 454). Simply put it is not the physical geography of the space but the conceptual processes from which the space is produced that is the core of this layer. It is the conception of purpose (hence use-value) inherent in the strategic policies of investors, managers, designers and controllers that is central to this layer of spatial production (Stewart 1995: 610). '*Representations of space*' are the formal economic and political identities of a space conflated with the economic and political managerial tactics through which it produced, maintained and controlled (see figure 1). This is very important in discussions of design and renaissance (2.2).

The second form, that of '*representational spaces*', is seen as the '*lived*' space. By '*lived*' what is referred to is the perception of users as they interpret the space in action (Allen & Pryke 1994: 454), or rather the significant, almost territorial, meaning underpinning their activities (see figure 1). There seems to be an almost ethereal imagination of reality behind this that is very difficult to unpack. The imagined experience of living in a space seems to feed the meaning of what that space is for the user. In this way '*representational space*' can be confused in some ways with '*spatial practice*' because it links strongly with activity and performance. Representational spaces are sometimes seen as informal spaces of resistance or locally specific ways of interpreting space through activities performed by a particular minority group (Stewart 1995: 611). The key is that these are spatial meanings derived through activity and they often differ between distinct cultural groups.

The '*spatial practice*' forms the 'meat and bones' of this theory, binding together '*representations of space*' and '*representational spaces*' at several levels of analysis. It is also one of the themes in Lefebvre's theory that suffers most from translation making it subject to interpretation as a loosely defined notion of 'common sense' or assumed knowledge that appears to underpin other elements of spatial production (Shields 1999: 162-163). '*Spatial practice*' is more than this loosely defined assumed and normative communal sense – though this is a part of it. When rationalised the connection between individuals as typified through this 'common sense' or *nous* can be framed through the emphasis of the perceived. Perception itself becomes the connection underpinning spatial practice not as a series of isolated inputs of sight, sound, scent, touch and taste; perception in spatial practice is the perception of and reaction to '*performative*' elements as a '*moment of communication*' (Lefebvre 1974: 369) where the interactions of each individual, and group, are given form and coherence (Allen & Pryke 1994: 454).

Spatial practice thus differs from representational spaces in this key way. It represents the framework of perception that is born out of every action that takes place within space, rather than specific actions as the word 'practice' implies. This is not the meaning of the action for the actor, but the perception (as a response) by the observer through abstract and differential spaces and connecting the spatial triad as a singular

process of production. As such this connects everything from the policy of the governing body to the performance of the skateboarder on the street, from the policeman on his beat to the street artist or busker. It is both the *mental* and *social* actions and reactions of these groups within the *physical* architecture. Spatial practice is then the perception of different 'Others' within a space and potentially the reaction to their activities as they occur in what can be called a singular moment of 'reactive perception' grounded in but distinct from the normative moral or social space[13].

In the context of public space all actions must have a significant impact on the interpretation of what each space should be as the conceptual triad unfolds through time. One of the applications of this concept - in the definition of meaning and the methods by which we draw an experiential understanding from space through this reaction to the perception of others - is through locating the body as a determining factor in the 'architectonics' of experience:

'*Bodies generate a space which replicates the structure of the body itself – bilateral and rotational symmetry yield a sense of duality – whereas the physiological closures of the body imply a conceptual differentiation between internal and external spaces, and hence of the distinct body*' (Stewart 1995: 612)

By distinguishing between the external body moving through space and the internal mental 'computation' of action, reaction and assimilating experience reflexively moment to moment there can be a engaging process through which a '*anthropological stage of reality*' (Lefebvre 1974: 192 quoted in Stewart 1995: 612) is created. The temporal and physical-biological is thus an addition to the interplay of the conceptual triad in the production of space through time.

The suggestion here is that by looking at different aspects of the production of space from the perspective of the group most dominant within that particular element we can develop the tensions apparent in the interplay of specific subgroups throughout the processes of spatial production as a fluid and living system. This premise underpins the whole body of this research and is very important in understanding the full implications socially and politically of what public space is, how we see it, and, how we understand its appropriate uses.

Towards a Definition of Public Space and the Public Realm

Before we move on the meaning and definition of public space must be concluded with a broad definition of the public for use throughout the thesis.

An in depth definition of public space offered from the above arguments could be:

'*Historically the term referred to physical spaces such a streets, marketplaces, town squares, parks, some buildings such as public libraries, museums and galleries which are open to everybody and impose no criteria of use or entry.*' (Worpole & Greenhalgh 1996: 14)

But as we have seen there are complex relations of representations of space, representational spaces and spatial practice that affect this concise yet simplistic approach. A fuller definition could be offered encapsulating the key aspects of all those in this literature review. As such public space is presented as a space separate and distinct from the social relations and practices associated with the family, the home or with the workplace; in which proximity to diverse strangers gives the opportunity for surprising and unexpected encounters with diverse individuals, who can often be very different to the individual perceiving them.[14]

Towards the Production of Commercial Public Space

The interpretation of Lefebvre's conceptual triad is relevant to the definition and nature of all space as well as the public in particular. The above introduction into his approach to the production of meaning in space does not fully unpack the implications of the conceptual triad but it does demonstrate the complexity of the problem before us[15]. The process of producing and extracting meaning from the public, which in its own right is a complicated idea / ideal, is difficult to unravel. The layers of process can sometimes appear as tightly intertwined as a ball of knotted hair, but with time they can be unwound much like a finely threaded rope.

The full implications of this dynamic and ongoing process are brought forth when we return to Zukin's definition which introduced the notion of accessibility (Zukin 1995:

262). What is taken for granted by many commentators is that access to space is contested. Research into this potential contestation of access has developed a wide range of issues relating to social exclusion, exclusive geographies and access to the public (Amin & Graham 1999; Chatterton 1999; Baeten 2002), which in turn suggests that the redefinition of connections between public and private spaces has become an important aspect of the production of space: '*Private space is distinct from but always connected with, public space*' (Lefebvre 1974: 166)

It is precisely the fudging of the lines between these two kinds of spaces that fuels the need for this research. The understanding of public space has been built upon the kinds of problematic and limiting definitions of varying public realms (Bianchini 1990), spheres (Habermas 1962) or spaces (Goheen 1998; Zukin 1998). In the latter part of the 20th century distinct changes and trends in policy and management have begun to dominate the public spaces of the contemporary city with uncertain outcomes (Oc & Tiesdell 1997c).

It has been argued that public space is becoming diminished and is turning into private space (Jackson 1998). This is to be linked to the separation of conceptual representations of space from representational lived realities in the skewing of Lefebvre's conceptual triad of spatial production, and the reaction of sub-groups within spatial production to changing perceptions of appropriateness, acceptability and morality (Chapter 3). This arguably leaves nowhere for the important role of the public space in advanced democratic capitalism to be fulfilled. This fear over the future of public life of city centres is supported to varying extents by a wide range of literature (Sennet 1990; Davis 1992; Sorkin 1992; Oc & Tiesdell 1997a; Davis 1999; Eisinger 2000; Merrifeild 2000).

The restructuring of global urban capitalism (section 2 of this chapter) is having profound effects on public space at the local level raising the significance of everyday life and individual experiences in the conceptual triad of spatially abstract 'neo-capitalism':

'*Neo-capitalism takes root in everyday life by integrating utopian aspirations into these everyday spaces which become associated with desires for a different, erotic*

appropriation of body and nature, hopes for non-instrumental human relationships, or daydreams about freedom from repetitive drudgery.' (Kipfer 2002: 141)

It could be said that the balance of the constitutive elements of the conceptual triad are becoming skewed through the changing emphasis of the urban policy agenda for the production and management of public space[16]. It can be argued that this is occurring in a way that increasingly emphasises the entrepreneurial conceptual space of global commerce as opposed to the democratic conceptual space of locally inclusive 'publicness'. Concerns that management institutions are attempting to emphasise their own 'conceived' space of consumption in turn leads to concern for the future of public space. But there are tensions also with the 'use' of space:

'*...precisely because of the non-exclusive nature of public space, it can also, over time, be colonised or dominated by particular groups or interests, thereby losing its inclusive status*' (Worpole & Greenhalgh 1996: 15)

Worpole & Greenhalgh found that young people and women were frequently perceived as problem groups in the domination of space, both as dominators and dominated respectively (Worpole & Greenhalgh 1996; Worpole 1998). In this research the concern is that the changes to management policy that have defined the return to the city centre and the urban socio-cultural and economic renaissance carry within them the potential to exclude subcultural youth groups from city centre public space. This is an increasingly likely prospect due in part to the often negative perception of young people in public, but also to the pervasive influence of entrepreneurialism in policy and aesthetics in the judgement of appropriateness in public. These changes affect strategic policies and tactics for the management of public space, and the potential for meaningful hegemonic discourse between managers and minorities. A key theme within this research is as such developing the understanding of which tensions are apparent between the commercial concept of space, the lived-reality of use for youth groups and the wider perception of both these elements of spatial production in practice.

These concerns are mutually valid and form solid groundings for the empirical research; as such they will be developed in the discussion of interplay in the

conclusions to the research project. The theoretical project of this section has been an attempt to decipher the processes by which meaning and experience are constructed via a reapplication of the conceptual triad (Allen & Pryke 1994). These literatures combined have created a much more dynamic appraisal of the production of meaning for and in public spaces, but have not yet managed to capture the full diversity and unpredictability of the public. It is entirely likely that, for some, they have in fact 'muddied the waters' further.

The connection of different interpretations of public spaces, as defined by individuals (through us) or institutions (the production and management of conceptual spaces) helps to create the 'skin' which covers the theoretical 'meat and bones' developed so far in this chapter. 'Fleshing out' this production and management paradigm is the next task (feeding the empirical discussion in chapter 7).

Controlling and Supplying the Nature of the Public: Towards Consuming Public Space

The production of meaning in public space is presented here as a constantly 'oscillating' multi-layered and dynamic series of interconnected processes. This will be developed further by linking social and mental interpretations of activity and behaviour of individuals and groups to the perception of all activity and all persons using 'collective distinctions' (Hodkinson 2002) of identity (3.2). At this point it is sufficient to suggest that the conceptual spaces, in the form of plans and designs for urban regeneration, have arguably taken on a different definitional stance and understanding of public space to that exhibited by the users of those spaces, via the domination of conceptual elements by particular ideologies and interests.

Conflicting concepts and uses create tensions in the processes of spatial practice which become visible through representations and representational spaces, in a sense 'codified' through Lefebvre's conceptual triad. There are undoubtedly limitations to this approach, as suggested by Allen and Pryke (1994), but potential exists to constructively circumvent these problems. It is possible that an attempt can be made to address increased tensions in the conceptual triad as a living process through an

analysis of the strategies and tactics of managers followed by the identities and activities of individuals and the perception of subgroups and finally linking the wider spatial interplay of these factors to a specific public space as an example *in situ*.

This in itself forms one of the key methodological drivers of the study. What we are left with are broad suppositions and questions, which shall evolve throughout this theoretical discussion, such as how influential 'morality' can be in the production of space, particularly in defining individual or group meanings and identities in public and private space. The moral question is one which shall come forward in later discussions on lifestyle and perception, relating to the uses of public space by young people (chapter 3). As suggested above it is in understanding the historical context of urban redevelopment in public spaces that the contestations in the definition of what the public is arise. In the contemporary city the conceptual space is that dominated by managers and as such the descriptive assessment of policy and research must be developed - to 'move' the awareness of spatial production forward - as a preface to morality and activity.

It is thus also important to understand where the boundaries lie between what is public space and what is to become private, and to what extent the moral code or landscape can be dictated to users in the increasingly private spaces of the city centre. These are issues of control and supply, from the perspective of those tasked with managing the public spaces of the city centre. Thus representations of space are placed within the frame of managerial strategies and their affect on public space in the city centre. The emphasis in the following (2.2) is upon the entrepreneurial, public-private partnership and commercial or consumer interests and architectures.

2.2 Control & Supply: the Privatisation of the Public

The notions of control and supply are central to demonstrating that representations of space are conceptual spaces of managers, and that this managerial context underpins the production of public space. First, a brief synopsis of urban decline sets the scene for a discussion of managerial strategic design policy as a response to existing problems in the city centre. Secondly, the broad policy framework of urban renaissance is developed as the key supply strategy for city centre regeneration, underpinned by notions of economic growth as cultural renewal. This top-down approach to the city is driven by the national governmental policy agenda, but applied tactically by key actors within managerial agencies at the level of local strategic policy.

Abridging 100 years of urban development to arrive at the contemporary context of urban renaissance is difficult at best but issues central to this dynamic in recent research include; the crisis of urban public and civic sociability in the city centre (Bianchini 1990; Oc & Tiesdell 1997a, 1997c), public and private space and social exclusion (Merrifeild 1996), and public and private consumption also seen as the increased importance of shopping in the city centre (Clarke & Bradford 1998; Jackson 1998).

Amongst the most studied of these paradigms are the occurrences of conflict between the managers of public or private spaces and the respective users of those spaces (Mitchell 1995; Reeve 1996; Flusty 2000). Such problems arise from growing differences between the representations of space in strategic policies, the spatial practices embedded in managerial tactics and the normative values and perceptions that inform not only identity and public morality[17], but also use-values and as such the perceived appropriateness of diverse and distinct activities in public space. The rise of the 'entrepreneurial city' (Jessop 1997), and urban renaissance as 'entrepreneurial' strategic policy, highlights the tensions in both strategies and tactics which endorse an 'entrepreneurial turn' (Hall & Hubbard 1996, 1998) in public space.

The potential exists (as stated in chapter 2.1) for definitions of what public space should be to become separated and fragmented; i.e. the representations of conceived space (by civic and private management groups) to become separate and distinct from the lived representational space (of the general public / masses), enforced by growing differences in their respective spatial practices. In the 1970's Lefebvre recognised this tension in his theory of spatial production and acknowledged the critical separation of these elements as problematic as they overlap and interplay in unpredictable ways (such is the nature of public space); as such there is a need to better understand the 'interstices' between representations of space and representational spaces (Lefebvre 1974: 41-44)

In the case of new managerial strategies of urban renaissance it can be argued that use-value is prescribed by design-led strategies rather than developed *in situ* with or by users. The redefinition of 'conceived appropriateness' embedded in managerial representations of space and spatial practices needs to be discussed and related to the potential for prescriptive design of public spaces to engender social exclusion. This section aims to problematise tensions between these approaches from the side of 'control & supply', which simply put is the managerial approach to public space.

The concepts of space held by managers are changing. Once the context of urban renaissance has been established this chapter moves on to develop consumption in the context of public space. The architectures of consumption are thus shown to link with changing perceptions of use-value in the city centre. This has the effect of creating a blurring of boundaries between consumer activities and public use-values, developing the spatial tensions of entrepreneurialism through the blurring of public-private distinctions.

What we are left with at this stage is a series of questions on the direction of urban governance and management; some of which follow through from the discussion of the first section in this chapter, in setting the context we can ask:

- Can the responses to urban decline in entrepreneurial and design-led strategic policy be seen to engender socially exclusive tactics for managing public

activity and thus enforce a prescriptive, commercially driven concept of public space?

The Decline of the City Centre

The decline and subsequent renaissance of the urban, and more specifically the city centre, can be described as a global urban phenomenon linked to wider systemic shifts on the operation of advanced capitalism. These contextual issues lie beyond the range of this discussion[18], however they are integral to the changes occurring in relation to global economic and cultural territory (Brenner 1998a, 1999), the need for cities to become globally competitive and the re-imaging of the post-industrial city:

'*So universal is this capitalist condition that the conception of the urban and or "the city" is likewise rendered unstable... because the concept has itself had to reflect changing relations between form and process, between activity and thing, between subjects and objects. When we speak therefore of a transition from urban managerialism towards urban entrepreneurialism these last two decades we have to take cognisance of the reflexive effects of such a shift, through the impacts on urban institutions as well as built environments.*' (Harvey 1989: 6)

Traditional management structures contributed further to the perceived demise of the city centre. Many factors in urban decline thus became connected by failing urban policies such as; the defensive spatial development of the 1970's and 1980's (Oc & Tiesdell 1997a: 2); spiralling inner city crime rates and the obsession with security amongst urban inhabitants (Sorkin 1992; Oc & Tiesdell 1997a); the ongoing 20th century suburbanisation of housing and the resultant mass migration of the middle classes out of the crowded defensive tenements of the city centre (Oc & Tiesdell 1997b; Hall 1998: 965-966); the chain reaction of haemorrhaging financial investment (Oc & Tiesdell 1997b: 12) and the often media led birth of an '*ecology of fear*' (Davis 1998) or the emergence of a '*culture of fear*' (Furedi 2002) amongst many members of the urban populous (Worpole 1992), which has left the city and particularly the city centre in a state of confusion and disrepair[19].

The widespread perception of the public as '*colonised or dominated by particular group[s] or interest[s], thereby losing its inclusive status*' (Worpole & Greenhalgh 1996: 15) had linked into the fear over spiralling urban crime, the decline of the traditional family and the perceived moral turpitude of urban life compared to the ever-growing suburban paradise[20].

The fall from grace of city centre public space and culture has in fact precipitated a rise in dystopian '*hypochondriac geographies of the city*' (Baeten 2002) leading to the need to regenerate not only the physical city centre but also the perception of its image by suburbanites. The challenges of '*revisioning place*' (Halcombe 1993) and '*re-imaging localities*' (Jessop 1997) required a new form of urban management. This new raft of deregulated '*creative entrepreneurialism*'[21] in strategies, policies and tactics slowly emerged across both global and local scales (Harvey 1990: 6) but is focussed in the UK around the rhetoric of 'urban renaissance' (D.E.T.R 1999, 2000).

Entrepreneurial Policy: The Urban Renaissance in Writing

Entrepreneurialism has become a buzz word in academic research on the city alongside that of 'urban renaissance' (MacLeod 2002).

In 1997 the Labour government appointed the architect Lord (Richard) Rogers to lead an Urban Task Force to investigate the state of British urban policy. Their final report '*Towards an Urban Renaissance*' was an attempt to bring into the UK into line with the high standards of European urban environments (D.E.T.R 1999, 2000). Some key aspects of the plan were the emphasis on design-led regeneration targeting brown-field sites and open spaces in declining areas; the demand for local authorities to create comprehensive strategies detailing tactics of regeneration for specific areas (in economy, planning and culture); the redesign of streets, parks and open spaces in order to stimulate more viable uses (for the integration of communities); and the widespread regeneration of the urban environment and the importance of increased partnerships with the private sector (D.E.T.R 1999; Lees 2003).

The aesthetic aspect of this regeneration is developed throughout this research in two key ways. Firstly the tensions in the implicit use of community to define discrete

groups by the New Urban Left resulting in symbolic strategies of cultural transformation masked as economic revitalisation (Cooper 1998: 467-470); and secondly, the influence of the private sector as stakeholders in increasing the control of activity through this design-led aesthetic in strategic planning as a form of 'revanchism' (Holden & Iveson 2003).

For example, Holden and Iverson (2003) argue that '*contemporary urbanism is particularly sensitive to how cities are being re-valued between moments of renaissance and revanchism*' and that '*revanchist tendencies*' appear to underpin the urban renaissance agenda (ibid: 58)[22]. If revanchism has been conflated with renaissance then this can be linked into the evolution of the 'entrepreneurial stance' underpinning contemporary representations of the urban in design-led strategy and partnership driven tactics:

'*The future of the city resides, so it seems, in embracing an entrepreneurial stance in which state, architect, urbanist and entrepreneur join forces to construct urban 'growth machines' that permit successful development and a vigorous competitive stance in the spiralling inter-urban competition that governs urban dynamics today. Within this market-led urban development, attention to issues of distribution and socio-economic power shrink and pervasive mechanisms of exclusion, social polarisation and diminishing citizenship come to the fore.*' (Swyngedouw & Kaika 2003: 6-7)

This new alliance and partnership focussed strategy thus combines the influence of key actors in creating new representations of space. These implicitly privilege the specific interests of urban economic growth at the expense of those to whom macro-economic concerns are not a part of their daily experience of the urban public.

A study by MacLeod (2002) highlighted such connections in the conflict between urban entrepreneurialism and alternative uses of public spaces in Glasgow where he argued that relationships between '*entrepreneurial governance, downtown renaissance and the active systems of surveillance...are intertwined with the advance of the revanchist city*' (ibid: 603). This, he noted, led to a situation where '*new civic*

spaces appear to be concealing more active geographies of displacement and marginality' (ibid: 613).

Tensions are beginning to appear more frequently in research discussing design-led spatial privatisation, also emphasising consumer-led activity and private sector management techniques. This revanchist agenda can thus be seen to adversely affect the management and uses of public space in many cities (Davis 1992; Reeve 1996; Jackson 1998; Flusty 2000, 2001). Holden and Iveson (2003) suggest that the renaissance of New Labour may be in fact a form of revenge upon the less powerful urban citizens linked above to urban decline:

'*If the renaissance of these tenderly managed landscapes...has done much to recover the exchange and sign-value of many city centres, questions remain about the legitimate use-value of these spaces for a wider citizenry.*' (MacLeod 2002: 605 cited in Holden & Iveson 2003: 59)[23]

If the new city *is* being redeveloped to attract wealthier inhabitants and more profitable consumers back into the city centre this explicitly privileges commercial discourses in strategy, emphasised by partnership driven government. In effect a situation has evolved where in providing for some key privileged demographics (e.g. the middle-class consumer family[24]) others are increasingly excluded (Cooper 1998: 469; Lees 2003: 74). Despite this many cities have begun to harness entrepreneurialism positively to remake their image in a global urban marketplace. Success is defined by the ability of the local council and authority to offer a more appealing 'sense of place' not just to the investor but also to the tourist, leisure seeker and consumer, thus increasing potential for economic growth. Town and city centres are isolated as a management priority (D.E.T.R 1999: 120), and linked to American models of regeneration[25]. It is clear at the local level that in contemporary urban management, and thus urban studies, that for many it is the urban and economic imperatives that remain strongest influences of the direction of urban renaissance:

'*These transformations are strongly connected to the changes that occur in cities, since cities were and still are regarded to be the engines of economic growth, and*

centres of production, consumption, innovation and accumulation of wealth. Therefore economic transformation implies urban transformation' (Musterd 2003: 71)

Tensions in Urban Renaissance: Gaps in Policy

There are still questions over the ability of this broad strategy to address minutiae of managing the city. The 'Towards and Urban Renaissance' report itself has been criticised for offering an '*overly design-led urban vision*' (Amin et al. 2000: 3) which may echo the mistakes of the modernist urban regeneration of the mid-twentieth century which in many ways is responsible for the decline of the city centre[26]. Developing this first criticism, it has been emphasised that the city centre should be seen as a special form of neighbourhood with a unique mix of stakeholders (Rogers 1999: 120), this in itself already presents a language that emphasises the importance of stakeholder partnerships. The tactics of governance can be seen, at the least, to privilege commercial access to decision-makers, reducing the public accountability of actors in the systemic hegemony that underpins urban renaissance in practice at the local level. The importance of this hegemonic negotiation for wider participation in decision-making is discussed later (chapter 3). The need for collaborative investment from the private sector thus overshadows the significance of consultation with the public, particularly the difficult to reach:

'*There has been a privileging of policy discourse which celebrates the displacement of social problems rather than their resolution...such a discourse cannot ultimately provide sustainable policies for the regulation of public spaces and threatens the inclusion of some users in public spaces who may not be* legitimate *patrons.*' (Atkinson 2003, p.1829, emphasis added)

Secondly designification of the dynamism and difference inherent in cities suggests that urban space is essentially a harmonious place that will fall into an orderly renaissance given the right application of power, when we know the opposite to be true. Urban centres are sites of public thoroughfare, therefore mixing and difference. In making this misapprehension the Urban White Paper (DETR 2000) misinterprets the issue of power relations in management (Amin et al. 2000: 3-4). This can be seen in both the selection of participants in stakeholder partnerships (Edwards et al. 2003:

181-203) and the overemphasis of developing holistic strategies and action plans as broad thematic guidance for local redevelopment. Whilst these strategies help to focus specific managerial subgroups on realisable aspects of their service delivery and spatial responsibilities they also tend to overlook the diversity of the groups to whom they are catering. Strategic policies and attempts to develop the city through environmental regeneration are not enough to win the trust and redevelop the perception of the city centre as a lively, clean, accessible and most importantly safe place. The Urban White Paper acknowledges this but the social cohesion implied in the rhetoric of renaissance has been treated - by and large - as a knock-on effect that should somehow materialise through the regeneration of the city as a socio-cultural engine for urban growth and economic sustainability.

The Urban White Paper emphasises community, but fails to incorporate the intricacies of cultural distinctions into the substratum of community awareness, thus using a concept of the community underpinned by suburban residential geographies:

'*This could also be presented as a failure of urban policy itself and notions of 'trickle down' and multiplier effects and the concept of public and private partnership*' (Evans 2001: 270-271)[27]

This designifies the input of transitional users of the city centre (those who do not live in the centre but access its spaces and services), privileging one specific concept of citizenship, participation and public space (Painter & Philo 1995: 115-116; Holden & Iveson 2003: 59-62) oriented on poorly conceptualised boundaries and zones of appropriate activity and behaviour. The issue of difference will become central to this discussion in later chapters. Here it is acknowledged that:

'*There is concern here that cities are being renewed for (and in the image of) those people who possess economic value as consumers and residents.*' (Holden & Iveson 2003: 59)

Thirdly, this dynamism is missing from the use-values inherent in suggested design strategies (Amin et al. 2000: 4-5). As a result of missing the intricacy of

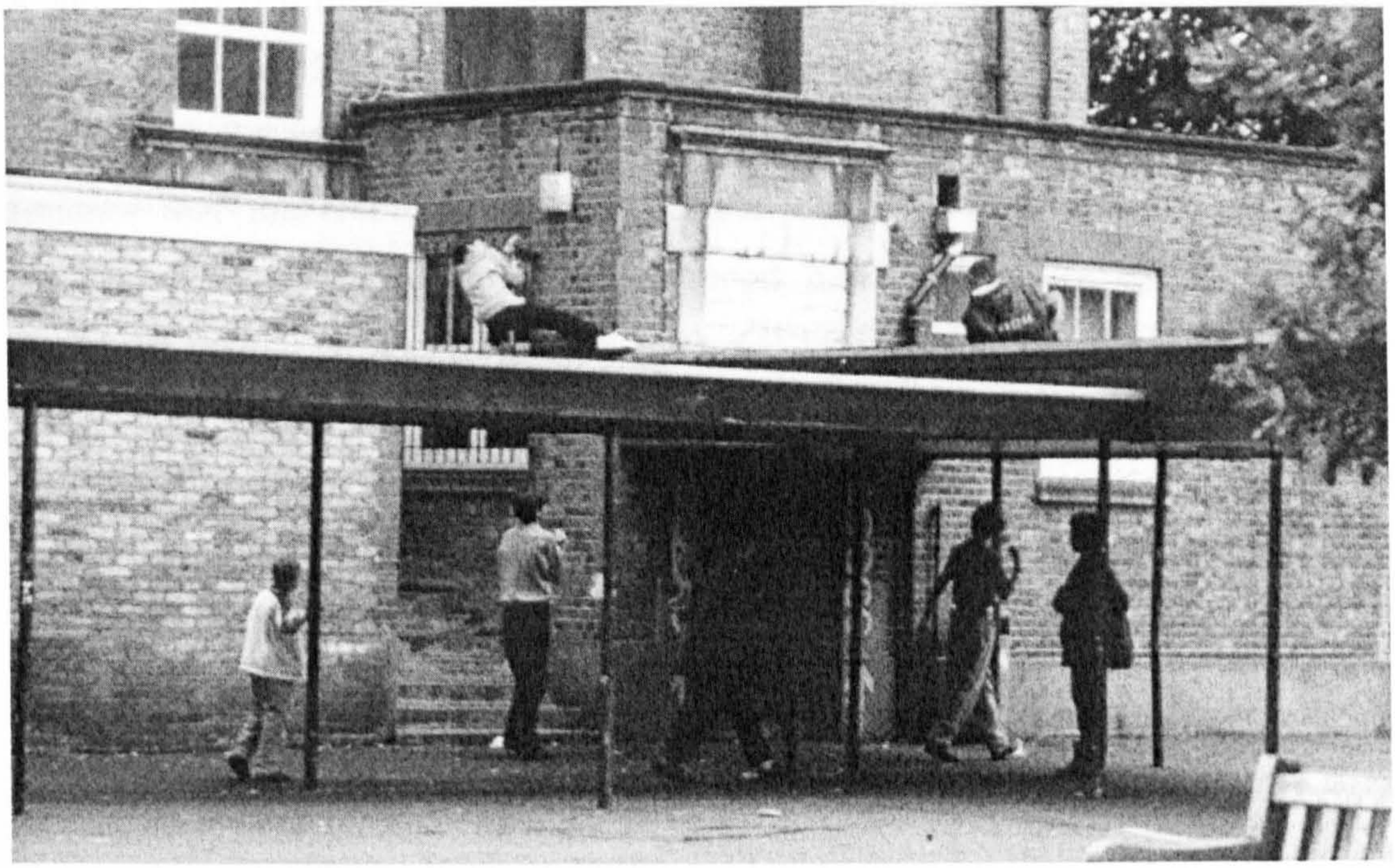


Figure 2. Taken from 'Towards an Urban Renaissance' (1999: 127) Youth portrayed as vandals & criminals?

interplay between groups in the city centre the absence of minority groups in a meaningful way is significant to the strategic approach the report promotes[28].

The only real place young people are significantly mentioned in early urban renaissance documentation is in connection to '*crime prevention and community safety*' (D.E.T.R 1999: 126-128). This is strange when the definition of 'diversity' in the Urban White Paper suggests that that government is; '*promoting a mix of activities within neighbourhoods, while encouraging cultural innovation and community participation in decision-making*' (D.E.T.R 1999: 306), when in reference to the substantial youth community in the city the emphasis is on '*policies and guidance for designing out crime...new statutory orders for tackling racially motivated crime, antisocial behaviour, truancy, sex offenders and child curfews*' (ibid: 127)[29]. This lack of a clear distinction between types of crime – for example property or violent crime (theft, mugging, vandalism etc.) and youth as a public nuisance (e.g. hanging out, littering, and boisterous play) will again be returned to in subsequent discussions (4.2).

A fourth criticism of urban renaissance combines these concerns in questioning the simplistic prescriptions and assumptions that underpin the report (ibid. 2000: 5). One way of interpreting the urban renaissance policy is that it, like others before it, assumes that the recommendations it made would be adopted whole-sale with predictable results. The comprehensive report has been applied in the UK in a piecemeal fashion (Holden & Iveson 2003: 64) leading to regional variations in the form and success of urban renaissance. The Task Force failed to recognise the fragmentation of the proposed strategic policy guidance in its regional applications via the dynamism of local policy and lived-experiences of use; this has inevitably lead to a variety of context specific results with a variety of outcomes, some successful others less so.

Lord Rogers himself has expressed '*disappointment*' in central governments response to the report and changes it has proposed, maligning them for their lack of interest and criticising the fragmented and profit-centred approach taken by these disparate local groups. It has been suggested by Lord Rogers that local authorities need the leadership of central government to avoid an Americanised pattern of '*ghettoisation*' in British cities (McCarthy 2000; Hetherington 2002), yet he himself endorses mirroring elements of American managerial patterns with Business Investment Districts, themselves critically linked to privatisation, gentrification and commercialisation of American city centres[30].

Tensions in Urban Renaissance: Consuming the Public

Managerial strategies of design and tactics for the control of public space in urban renaissance have been misapplied in many local contexts. The management of use-values and activities in public increasingly appears to maximise the perception of order, safety, and cleanliness for the valid and consuming public at the expense of those not perceived to fit with this aesthetic (Reeve 1996). More often manifest through commercial redevelopment with a privatising influence on the public environment, this is not only apparent through strategies of design and rational planning but also through the managerial tactics used to maintain the physical fabric as well as social order *in situ*.

These strategic changes drastically increase the emphasis on retail in the city centre as the central driver underpinning conceptual representations of space. Thus the primacy of consumption suggests the potential creation of a space that privileges consumption as the only appropriate activity in the city centre; increasing concerns amongst academics over gentrification and privatisation in public space:

'*Although retailing helps to stabilise and anchor their economies, shopping is not the be-all-and-end-all of city centres: they are 'city centres' not 'shopping centres'. Here city centres have a major advantage over out-of-town shopping complexes. They already have mixed uses: shopping, restaurants and cafés, entertainment, leisure and tourism activities of various kinds. They also have character and historicity. The challenge is to find a new economic role or niche for the city centre. This has often involved new uses: tourism, services, the arts, and housing.*' (Oc & Tiesdell 1997a: 16)

The experiences of consumer spaces are very different for each individual depending on age, race, economic wealth and other elements of social demography. For many youth groups the use of spaces of consumption is a dominant aspect of leisure activity (Vanderbeck & Johnson Jr. 2000) whilst for parents the speed of the shopping trip is secondary only to the control of their children (Miller et al. 1998: 98). In other words it is not just a central aspect of contemporary urban activity, consumption and 'consumer culture' has become a '*whole way of life*'[31].

As a whole way of life it has become integral to urban planning systems and is part of a wider cultural turn in geography and urban studies (Ray & Sayer 1999; Thrift 1999; Mitchell 2000; Hajer & Reijndorp 2001: 36-37). In the many cases in the UK or the US, and across Europe, academics critique the minutiae of urban '*commodification*' as we see the potential for a number of negative effects in contemporary urban life, due in part to the entrepreneurial management strategies and the commercialisation of civic institutions for the management of public space in the city centre. Amongst these negative affects (addressed earlier and applied in this section to consumption) are; the increasing privatisation of public space in city centres (Mitchell 1995; Flusty 2000, 2001), protection of commercial as opposed to civic interests (Reeve 1996), ever sterner efforts to regulate the public in urban spaces with CCTV (Norris & Armstrong 1999) and drastic policing techniques (Herbert 1998), the growth of consumption and

entertainment as the dominant activities of '*romanticised*' commodity fetishism (Campbell 1987; Davis 1999; Boden & Williams 2002); growth in consumption-led identity construction (Miles 2003a; 2003b) and the growth of thematic and entertaining personal fulfilment in urban spaces (Gottdeiner 1997; Hannigan 1998) all of which combine to threaten the 'publicness' of open space in the city centre:

'*The outlook is alarming: the public... can evidently not exist without the cities, yet the cities attempts to save the city centre threaten the very essence of the public... the urban field is no longer the domain of civic openness, as the traditional city was, but the territory of a middle-class culture, characterised by increasing mobility, mass consumption and mass recreation*' (Hajer & Reijndorp 2001: 25-28)

The upsurge in design and partnership-led urban renewal in both the European Union and American quarters such as Bunker Hill, L.A., has seen the widespread application of '*cultural planning*' (Evans 2001) throughout the city[32]. Further, the rise of cultural planning and entrepreneurial management have lent themselves to investment heavy 'white elephant' and 'flagship' projects with commercially problematic marketability as local and citizen oriented redevelopments in city centres.

This site specific rationally planned cultural 'boosterism' (Harvey 1989: 7, Evans 2001: 213) links into the infrastructural development of 'cathedrals for consumption' (Ritzer 1999), and the spread of 'flag-ship' or 'white-elephant' developments into which are focused large amounts of redevelopment capital for the generation of realisable economic growth[33]. This has been called the '*repertoire of "special activity generators" – convention centres, sports arenas and stadiums, casinos, arts and entertainment complexes – large facilities capable of attracting both tourists and day-trippers from the suburbs and surrounding metropolitan region*' (Robertson 1995 cited in Hannigan 1998: 56)

Examples of this are the Millennium Stadium in Cardiff (Jones 2001) or the 'Guggenheim effect' in New York, or Bilbao (Evans 2001: 217) and the cultural festivals such as Glasgow's 'Garden Festival' (ibid: 218). It is the connection of these interests in planning; the private ownership of much of the city centre by private stakeholder partners and/or development agencies; and the public-private partnership

in investment and design that has sustained fears over the privatisation of the new urban public[34]. The implications for representations of space and the conceptual understandings underpinning the design, development and eventual management of the city are thus increasingly discussed in the context of consumption, or as 'trade and traffic':

'*Trade and traffic are the two components of the street... because in the street the juices flow to a standstill, the commodity proliferates along the margins and enters into fantastic combinations, like the tissue in tumours – the flâneur sabotages the traffic. Moreover, he is no buyer, he is merchandise*' (Benjamin 1999: 195-196)

Architectures of Consumption

The evolution of shopping as a central characteristic of urban culture has seen shifts in the consumption paradigm from small scale producer-retailers (Adburgham 1964: 1-3; Mui & Mui 1989), to department stores (Adburgham 1964: 167; Falk & Campbell 1997: 77), to the festival marketplaces (Stephens et al. 1981: 152-155; Defilippis 1997; Hannigan 1998) and early city centre shopping malls (Oc & Tiesdell 1997a: 12) and mega-malls (Goss 1999; Gottdeiner 2001-277) to the theme parks (Sorkin 1992, 1992a; Ritzer 1999: 3) and '*cathedrals of consumption*' (Ritzer 1999: 8-22). This primacy of consumer activity in our everyday experiences of the urban has had a profound affect upon our understanding of urban space and the use-values of public spaces in the city centre[35]. There are a number of tensions that were implied in previous consumer architectures but have become explicit in the 'cathedrals to consumption' promoted through urban renaissance.

It can easily be argued that the renaissance agenda seems to emphasise the protection of the '*orderly flow of commerce*' (Flusty 1994: 10) and has leaked out of the city centre mall into the streets, parks and plazas of the city centre (Fyfe & Bannister 1998). Increasingly strategies and tactics for the legislation of 'anti-social' or even 'anti-consumer' behaviour in the city centre (Jackson 1998: 178) appear, often targeting youth as a problem area in the 'fear of crime' and thus perception of a redevelopment area (Morrison 2003: 151-153). The exacerbated consumer focus and

form of contemporary city has been jocularly referred to by George Ritzer, a key critic of modern consumer society, as '*islands of the living dead*' dominated by spaces for rational consumption (Ritzer 2005). It this context tensions are clear between the distinction of consumer and public environments; this can be unpacked through a string of key themes linked to both consumer oriented architectures and activities.

The commercialisation of leisure and 'fun'

Shopping has become a leisure activity (Falk & Campbell 1997: 188), whilst 'hanging out' in cathedrals to consumption and 'window shopping' have become leisure activities for many groups (particularly youth) (Poindexter 1997; Vanderbeck & Johnson Jr. 2000). Frequently the only 'fun' that can be had in a city centre has to be paid for. In some ways the consumption of leisure has become measurement of social status ('conspicuous leisure'[36]). The contemporary selection or choice of venue for consumption can have significant cultural and even heritage based connotations for individual consumers and demographics (Miller et al. 1998):

'*[Capitalism] has been busy in commodifying experiences and human relations, and in formally regulating spheres of life that were once open to informal or democratic control*' (Lodziak 1995: 22)

The privatisation of space

Many urban architectures of leisure are privately administered projecting a safe and sanitary image as a means of attracting consumers. The mall remains among the most advanced of these in wedding public and private space in design-led consumer architectures but this form of regeneration affects minorities such as youth and the homeless in many aspects of the public (White 1996). Malls can be seen to simulate a categorically illusory public space, such as a town centre, through the artificial streets and boulevards that connect shops (Falk & Campbell 1997: 9-10). However much these streets appear to be public spaces they are a part of the mall environment, which is usually privately owned and maintained:

'*The mall is a highly regulated,* private *commercial space that is expressly designed to make money*' (Gottdeiner 1997: 82, original emphasis)

The gentrification of the consumer environment

The privately owned space of the malls allows the owners to dictate the moral code underpinning social relations within the boundaries of their architecturally based authority. This is often enforced through surveillance technologies (with explicit viewing instruction i.e. target the youth and (sub)culturally attired, ethnic minorities etc.) (McCahill 2000), and private security forces (store guards etc), increasingly hard-wired into the local law-enforcement networks. It becomes, for the first time, viable to ask who is allowed in public space and what practices exist to discourage those least suitable or likely to engage in commercial activity. By divorcing gentrification from the limitations of a residential debate and grounding it in this commercial activity oriented perspective it takes on a new significance in commercial public space:

'*Gentrification is a redifferentiation of the cultural, social and economic landscape, and to that extent that one can see in the very patterns of consumption clear attempts at social differentiation*' (Smith 1996: 114)

The 'themeing' of consumption

This can be described as the rise of 'shopertainment' (Hannigan 1998: 90-93) and extends the commercialisation of 'fun'. Themeing is the form of a venue that absorbs the consumer into spectacle. It becomes an unreal world of symbols and simulacra which disguise the banality of the process of exchange and purchase in a spectacular consumer environment. Linked to the suburbanisation of shopping centres in the 1950's and 1960's but pre-dating the revitalisation of the city centre with new inter-urban malls (ibid.), the rise of themed environments can be charted through the early department stores, to the festival markets, the huge themed districts within mega-malls and shops - such as the 'Disney store' corporate chain (Gottdiener 1997: 82-91, Ritzer 1999), or the 'Mall of America', modelled on that most pervasive of contemporary themes 'Americana' (Gottdeiner 2001: 277):

'*This occurs in both visual and retail texts.... such as Successories ("executive novelties") and Aerosoles (footwear), to the more subtle...such as The Gap and The Limited (both clothing stores)*' (Goss 1999).

This themeing of the urban in public space can be linked back to several changes and implications for the nature of public space in the city centre. The first is the growth in the perception of shopping and consumption as legitimate leisure activities as opposed to essential activities (i.e. window shopping instead of grocery shopping); secondly to the creation of marketable themed quarters which it can be argued have developed from the commodity fetishism of festival marketplaces and thirdly to the isolation through brand identities of specific consumer demographics who may be targeted for inclusion in the urban renaissance raising many questions over who the regeneration of the city takes place for (Goodwin 1993; Zukin 1995; Davis 1999; Eisinger 2000; Evans 2001; Atkinson 2003; Williams 2003).

These commercial developments have been integrated into this discussion for a specific purpose; in discussing the influence of commercial architecture upon the conceptual spaces of management it is important to note a series of connections. Firstly the advent of commercial spaces such as malls created a difficult situation for Local Authorities; they were suddenly forced to compete commercially with faux centres of urban activity. This required a change in the conceptual approach to the city centre that required a more competitive edge. Secondly, the inter-urban competition appears to be tiered into the knowledge and service (or consumer) industries in many of these cities. The change in the nature of activity changes the use-value implicit in the management of the space; areas of cities are marketed and for the first time public space becomes more than the free areas of an industrial city (use for passive relaxation and social activity) and become a part of the festival of consumption in the city. The combination of the economic imperative and the inspiration of a tourist historical and cultural economy with which out of town malls cannot compete gives the city centre its edge over highly fetishised commercial environments, but in order to compete the city must be managed as a 'cathedral of consumption'. The strategies and practices required to do this create a tension between the reality of urban experience and the need to create a perception of consumer harmony on a par with a

purpose built commercial themed environment lead to a significant change in the representations of space; and thus the changes to management of the open and democratic urban public.

Towards Use-Value, Identity & Perception in Commercial Public Space

By offering a theoretical definition of public space a baseline has been developed for understanding the ideal to which regeneration policy *should* aspire. By then introducing this through Lefebvre's the conceptual triad a connection can be made across topics of youth and interplay in the discussion of these themes below. The production of public space has been framed within the failure of public space management, through urban decline, and the resultant rafts of policies attempting to deal with these tensions. The resultant solutions to 'the problem of urban space' form the basis upon which contemporary urban policy is approached throughout the rest of this research.

Whilst this is critical this approach is grounded within a broad and deep body of research into the changing nature of urban public space and urban management forming a solid base upon which the empirical assessment of management can be stood (chapter 7). For this empirical approach to hold water the potential for a separation between the pure theoretical public and the contemporary urban public has to be established using management policy and practice (as strategies and tactics) as the lens through which this occurs. In order to do this the rhetoric of urban renaissance has been conflated with the evolution of partnership-led governance, design-led regeneration and a commercial public aesthetic. Key questions to be unpacked in this empirical discussion are thus as such:

How do managerial and security institutions view and experience commercial public spaces in city cores?

When these groups become increasingly entrepreneurial how are youth perceived in public space and represented in strategic policy?

As suggested above this debate raises tensions in urban management rhetorics presentation of city centre public spaces as an environment which privileges '*one kind of activity*' and '*one kind of user – the consumer*' (Reeve 1996: 62). However to leave the discussion at that point is to ignore the dynamic re-appropriation of spaces that occurs at the level of the street, and to ignore the importance of use in defining what public spaces are. The users of urban public space most salient to this research (in this case focussing on young people) are addressed in the next chapter, unpacking first the origins, development and current reapplications of traditional youth cultural theory (3.1).

A spatial dimension is then added to the understanding of youth subcultural activity by linking the decline of the city centre, discussed above, with the growth of fear and suspicion of youth. This is then advanced by linking into Lefebvre's spatial production; thus combining both spatial practice and perception in developing the deeper understanding of how 'appropriateness' is constructed in practice (3.2).

Chapter 3.
YOUTH IDENTITY & ACTIVITY IN COMMERCIAL PUBLIC SPACE

The emphasis so far has been very much on the conceptual approaches towards the public taken by managers; particularly the importance of the rational conceptual space of planners and the managerial concept of an appropriate use value. It has been suggested that the distinct managerial concept of the public privileges consumption above citizenship, treating the city centre public spaces as areas to be developed through urban renaissance in order to create economic growth through the 'orderly flow of commerce' (Flusty 1996).

The previous chapter discussed academic research on entrepreneurialism and cultural regeneration and raised the potential exclusionary effects of an entrepreneurially-driven urban renaissance on public spaces in the city centre as a key issue. This may occur in the perceived appropriateness of youth activity in public space and the perception of youth themselves as a potentially anti-social 'other'. Thus the conceptual interpretations of use-value which underpin the perception of representational spaces by subgroups tasked with the management and regeneration of public spaces could become skewed towards the economy they seek to create, rather than the public they are supposed to serve. This is given more weight having seen some of the tensions that have evolved in city centre architectures throughout the 20th century (2.2). In short the privatisation and potential gentrification of public spaces in the city centre has become a real concern.

The discussion of the production of space so far has developed the conceptual space of management, opening the potential for empirical research to investigate the strategic policies and operational tactics of urban renaissance. By suggesting that there is an ascribed or prescriptive use-value inherent in the architects, designers or managers vision of public space a second theme is brought forth. The urban public is not empty, it is a locus of users and activity. The use of space or the perception of users *must* then be developed in depth. This is done here with an emphasis on youth by engaging with discourses of 'difference' and 'otherness', thus developing spatial practices and the importance of the alternative perceptions of users and use-value.

In this chapter the definition of youth minorities advanced throughout this research is developed, showing how varied understandings of difference and otherness have evolved. Not all 'Othering' of minorities is created by social exclusion. In developing the social construction of identity it is supposed that the display of difference and the performance of activity can be seen as means of intentional, and indeed collective, separation and distinction of the individual from the normative 'mainstream'. Youth groups will be described as subcultures and tribes with distinct identities and patterns of spatial activity, these will be developed as central to the perception of self, the importance of lifestyle to understanding how culturally embedded peer associations, such as status and style, inform 'other' associated identity distinctions.

Part 2 of this chapter draws together theoretical debates on the perception and meaning of public space by returning to Lefebvre. In developing the production of space by eliding the perception of 'collective distinctiveness' with the 'moral landscape' of public space, thus giving a greater scope to discussions of the acceptability of youth in public.

Following this theme, a more direct discussion on the perception of youth in public and their role in decision-making is brought forth; this framework of perception could arguably be framed as the key arena of spatial practices for management interests. Examples of specific pressures placed on youth activity are developed in chapter 4, but these are based upon the tensions between the managerial approach (chapter 2) and the understandings of youth founded on the following discussion of 'collective distinctiveness' (3.1). Alongside debates on moral panics, difference and the role of youth as a territorially dominant group in certain public spaces this is the theoretical framework for the empirical element of the research.

The empirical research will, in part, connect the perceptions of youth spatial practices to the pressures and practice levied at young people by managers of public space. This demonstrates some of the tensions between the perception and activity of youth by themselves (8.1) and the perception of youth by other key actors in the production of commercial public space (chapter 8.2). The culmination of these debates at this point will create a more theoretical picture of a spatially aware location based and lifestyle

oriented series of youth identities grounded in the lived experience of public space (3.1 & 8.1).

This focus on spatial practices throughout this chapter will be linked back into earlier discussions on the production of space connecting entrepreneurially driven operational tactics to the management of perceived social disorder and / or danger. This is particularly relevant in the context of safety and security in the city centre, the power of perception in place-marketing and the concerns over gentrification in regeneration of the city centre through the development of more consumer oriented architectures and management techniques (2.2 & 2.3). This sets up two key questions:

How do the groups of young people who assemble in commercial public spaces in city cores view and experience this space?

How are groups of young people and their activities perceived by other key actors in the production of urban public space?

The remainder of this chapter will set the stage for a discussion of young people's use of public space, and how the key actors in urban renaissance relate and perceive young people in the city centre. It does this by establishing the collectively distinct nature of youth groups and the importance of how youth are perceived by public and managers as an indicative fact affecting their general position in decision-making, policy and citizenship.

Previously it has been suggested that the conceptual representations of space have become dominated by entrepreneurially driven strategic policies and operational tactics. Further to this the following suggests that the power of perception in the production of public space is key to assessment of the change in lived experiences. As the perception of appropriateness changes representational spaces are going to be affected. As such the evolution of youth research is central to the perception of young people in public space.

3.1 Youth & Identity Construction: Theoretical Approaches

In understanding the nature of youth, the perception of them by the public and the way in which youth are represented in the contemporary city, it necessary to understand more about the evolution of research discussing youth cultures. The foundations of cultural studies offer a good starting point to develop the understanding of subculture in theory and also the opportunity to reflect upon the validity of other views which portray subculture as a form of resistance. Newer approaches to youth will also be described looking at the tribal theory of youth as an advancement of subculture. This will investigate the significance and flexibility of youth identity in a consumer market-place and some of the key indicators such as music and lifestyle that are particularly significant. Elements of these approaches will be linked to a more spatial understanding throughout this discussion.

This review of past theoretical approaches forms the foundation of the approach taken towards youth in this research and allows for a spatial interpretation of classical socio-cultural theories. The nature of these understandings will be developed as an informant of spatial practices youth exhibit when in public. In this way the identity and activity of young people are shown to be central to 'perception' in public space.

Origins of Cultural Study: Foundations of Subcultural Research

The history of Cultural Studies is rooted in Western traditions of cultural theory bridging in particular Sociology of the 'Chicago school' and the cultural studies of post-war Britain at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (BCCCS)[1] during a time of widespread social change. The key approaches founded by these two groups are thematic understandings of youth that have bled into the wider social understandings of who and what youth represent in public space.

The Chicago school research often emphasised youth and deviance, connecting youth with the normalisation of deviant behaviour through normative processes of social labelling that set youth apart from the main body of society as a 'subculture' (Cohen 1955; Becker 1963). This negative image of youth was however challenged by some

Chicago researchers who suggested that youth could represent 'legitimate subcultures' with a codified system of 'subterranean values' that differed from the wider societal understanding of the acceptable. These values '*while deviant in that they offer non-conformist routes to pleasure and excitement do not challenge the socio-economic order of the dominant society as such*' (Bennet 2000: 16). This was rolled out through an ethnographic approach to the research of youth emphasising the difference of youth norms and values (thence morality) from the main body of society.

Several key issues grew from the establishment of the BCCCS in the second half of the century as a centre of excellence in the emergent field of cultural studies[2]. The ethnographic approach was also much favoured here but had a different emphasis focussing on the symbolic 'style' of youth (known as semiotics) and their 'resistance through rituals' (Hall & Jefferson 1993) to the pressures of capitalist society. Developing 'subcultures' as a separate and distinct group from the mainstream or dominant culture gave an ideological twist to youth expression which later became a key criticism of cultural studies.

Jefferson's discussion of the Teddy Boys in the 1950's and 1960's fits this model but it made some useful connections suggesting that young mens 'group mindedness' was linked to a 'strong sense of territory'. This gives us a sense of a connection between identity and space. Expanding this he also brought forth the extreme 'touchiness' of the Ted's to disparaging comments directed at their appearance (Jefferson 1993: 82). As key themes in the spatial perception of youth as a dangerous other the sense of conflict within space over individuals or groups that differ from the normative template of behaviour and often those who engage with distinct visual or aesthetic difference, such as groups flagged here[3], can link to the initial indication of a wider mistrust of youth in society, and in research (Miles 2003a: 68).

It will be argued in what follows that the distinctive forms of dress, expression and activity forge 'lifestyle collectives'. These can be seen as a form of separation of 'self' from 'mainstream' society and dialectically as a means by which a sense of belonging to a specific subculture can be forged, connected to a specific lifestyle and even location.

As shown by Worpole (1996 – see 2.1) when a particular definable group come to dominate a space its open and public nature is threatened. The suggestion is that youth subcultures are such groups and that the presence of youth gatherings in public space creates a conflict between the collective moralities of distinct subcultural groups and interests.

Moral Panics: Introducing Transgression & the Perception of Youth in Public

Despite problems with the semiological method a key concept to arise from this body of literature has been that of the 'moral panic'. This concept is significant particularly in the work of Stanley Cohen (1972; 1985) and Dick Hebdige (1979; 1988). These two researchers have been particularly influential in advancing the traditional understandings of youth from the conceptual foundations discussed above, integrating issues of youth and difference into wider discourses of society. Stanley Cohen offered his seminal work 'Folk Devils & Moral Panics' (Cohen 1972) as an indictment of the capitalism system that conflated difference and deviance in the hegemonic negotiation of youth subcultural forms:

'*Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylised and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible*' (ibid: 1)

What Cohen puts forth is a view of the processes by which stylistically and morally distinct youth subcultures are constituted as a threat to the normative *civitas* of advanced capitalism. It is one contention of this research that a more subtle variation of the moral panic has become implicit in the conceptual strategies and operational tactics affecting change in public space (much of the city centre). The marginalisation of youth from the hegemonic dialogue in decision-making is significant as a reflection of the wider perception of youth and their activities as problematic or inappropriate.

Thus it is supposed that 'moral barricades' are then erected and 'ways of coping' devised. It can be argued that youth under the age of 18 are, by and large, excluded from the hegemonic operations of democracy, thus also from the nexus of key actors in urban management. A variety of implicit tactics of exclusion arise in response to the growing public perceptions of dangerous youth in a risky and dangerous public (expanded in 3.2). Moral panics in the press have also been shown to exacerbate the perceived need for regulation of both youth activity and public space (Hay 1995; James & Jenks 1996) and a train of consequences rolls across the 'normative moral landscape' (3.2).

The problems in public space for a reconciliation difference and morality can be summed up:

'*The threat is variously represented but one of the perceptions around which this threat revolves is that the rules which formerly governed social interaction in public spaces have been disrupted, that a harmonious demarcation between the public and private domains is no longer possible. One image recurs: the silent crowd, anonymous, unknowable, a stream of atomised individuals intent on minding their own business.*' (Hebdige 1983)

This city of strangers can be connected to the definition of public discussed in the previous chapter; however, in this 'fearful place' the range of renaissance policies when rolled out have been criticised for the displacement of urban problems rather than their solution. The following demonstrates firmly the position of youth in wider political and public discourse:

'*...youth is present only when its presence is a problem, or is regarded as a problem. More precisely the category of "youth" gets mobilised in official documentary discourse, in concerned or outraged editorials and features, or in the supposedly disinterested tracts emanating from the social science at times when young people make their presence felt by going "out of bounds", by resisting through rituals, dressing strangely, striking bizarre attitudes, breaking rules, breaking bottles, windows, heads, issuing rhetorical challenge to the law.*' (Hebdige 1983)

The ability of young people to break from the normative standards of any given time in creative ways, and in sometimes in violent ways, fitted the neo-Marxian agenda of the traditional cultural studies:

'*When young people do these things, when they adopt these strategies, they get talked about, taken seriously, their grievances are acted upon. They get arrested, harassed, admonished, disciplined, incarcerated, applauded, vilified, emulated, and listened to. They get defended by social workers and other concerned philanthropists. They get explained by sociologists, social psychologists, by pundits of every political complexion. In other words, there is* a logic to transgression.' (Hebdige 1988: 17-18, emphasis added)

Despite a strong case for the logic of transgression the idea of a strong and motivated rationale underpinning all youth cultural form is far to simplistic[4]. Such motivations are tightly bound into the specific ideology of each group and can be represented in political activism, terrorist groups or, for example, squatters (Chatterton 2002). This approach opens up more fluid notions of 'lifestyles' through which consumers drift, selecting different elements of each for different social situations in a form of niche market bricolage of experience (Hodkinson 2002: pp.19-24).

Still transgression remains an important factor. The wider perceptions of transgression open a dialogue on the perception of youth, the appropriateness of their 'lifestyle' and the effect of this 'public of strangers' on the strategies and tactics used for the management of youth in public space (3.2). The problematic of youth subcultures in todays cities may thus be rooted in the *perception* of transgression rather than the intentionality of transgressive lifestyles.

New Approaches to Youth Culture: From Consumption to Spatialising Neo-Tribes & Lifestyle

There is another approach towards youth culture that can be linked to a different tradition in cultural research, originating in the work of Thorsten Veblen and his seminal work '*The Theory of the Leisure Class*' (Veblen 1899). Veblen produced a quite different conceptual triad to that of Lefebvre, assessing the nature of

consumption, rather than production oriented approaches of other Marxist theorists. The key ideas in this conceptual triad are 'pecuniary emulation', 'conspicuous leisure' and 'conspicuous consumption' (ibid.). This theoretical construction of social differentiation based on consumption practices conceptually underpins much of the research born from cultural studies, and creates a social status hierarchy based on the purchase and display of not only material products, signifying wealth and prestige through 'conspicuous consumption', but also of leisure, implicating activity itself as a form of demonstrative practice, thus 'conspicuous leisure'.

Further the nature of desire in capitalist society was presented as such that emulation of prestige was rife amongst the lower classes, linked to the 'honorific relations' of acquisition; '*the desire to accumulate in capitalist society, therefore is an "honorific relation"*' (Gottdeiner 2000a: 8). This took the form of a 'vicarious pecuniary emulation', suggesting that the desire to be like the affluent is represented in cultural practices (i.e. 'keeping up with the Joneses'); therefore social differentiation will take on different forms as the criterion of success shift and different signifiers are highlighted in different periods but the differences in consumption practices specific to different 'lifestyles' are central to defining the social hierarchy of status (ibid: 8).

Developing Max Weber's idea of a '*style of life*' (Weber 1966: 26, cited in ; Miles 2000: 17) allowed Steven Miles to emphasise the extent to which the '*principles of consumption*' have come to underpin our individual lifestyles, and thus the connection of these processes to status reinforces the importance of perception and identification of style within peer groups. The performance of consumption then operates at several levels of distinction simultaneously as an interactive process[5] between '*groups of individuals*' (Miles 2000).

In contemporary youth research especially this can be linked to self expression, and thus social differentiation, by the distinction of identity markers such as designer clothes in '*the constant war for social position*' (Gottdeiner 2000a: 18) between youth cultural lifestyles as demographics or niche markets (see also chapter 8.1). This has led to a series of shifts in the analysis of consumer culture, or even consumer *cultures*, challenging production-centric approaches to social theory and research:

'*Todays society is better described as one in which both production and consumption are important, and although there is no dominant consumer culture, there are many cultures of consumption that differentiate the population. Most often these cultures of consumption work as lifestyle orientations that combine various consumer choices into a complex of daily living.*' (Gottdeiner 2000a: 21)

In the 1990's a new trend in the approaches towards youth culture emerged from this redefinition of the relationship between production and consumption. The general 'catch-all' applications of the term subculture lead to academics seeing it as limited and potentially loaded with unhelpful ideological connotations. This combined with other criticisms on the 'hermeneutic' bounding of subculture as a isolated and distinct groups (Jenkins 1984 cited in Bennet 2000: 25), and a reassessment of the importance of '*lifestyle shopping*' (Shields 1992) allowed for a shift towards the definition of youth cultures as meaningful '*lifestyle choices*' (Miles 2000) within capitalism rather than as structured forms of resistance (Bennet 2000:25-27). This culminated with a move away from the use of subculture as the dominant description of youth groups and - as Hodkinson has recently commented - led to the '*coining of a rather confusing plethora of new terms to replace subculture,*' (Hodkinson 2002: 19). As authors engaged with more post-modern discourses of flexibility, ephemerality and fluidity the newly emergent study of '*tribes*' gained some prevalence through the work on neo-tribalism (Maffesoli 1996)[6].

In this body of work emphasis was placed upon a '*reappropriation of ones existence*' (Maffesoli quoted in Hodkinson 2003: 20) but also on an '*architectonics*' of '*collective sentiment*' predicated upon proximity to diverse others (Maffesoli 1996: 80, 132). This informed the development of the '*collective unconscious (non-conscious)*' (ibid: 98) through which collective group identities could be understood by both participants *and* non-participants. What Maffesoli, Bennet and Hodkinson's theoretical approaches allow is for these forms of symbolism to be seen as markers of collective identity or of 'collective distinctiveness' that encourage a group awareness, not in resistance to capitalism but in order to identify 'them' and 'us' assisting in defining social boundaries – though this transcends age in terms of subcultural discourse it is never more useful than in assessing the social worlds of young people throughout the confusing and difficult period of transition into adulthood.

There are many variations on the minutiae of this approach linking into a wide range of traditions in youth research. Bennet (1999, 2000) has advanced the theory of distinctive 'neo-tribes' through an assessment of research on dance and club cultures which follows many of the cultural traditions of the BCCCS (Redhead 1993, 1997). By emphasising the importance of 'music' in there has been an attempt to move away from purely aesthetic distinctions of resistance and emphasise lifestyle choices and 'tastes'[7] as indicators of distinction in a more abstract social space:

'*On the one hand, music informs ways of being in particular social spaces; on the other hand, music functions as a resource whereby individuals are able to actively construct those spaces in which they live. Thus in a very real sense, music not only informs the construction of the self but also the social world in which this self operates*' (Bennet 2000: 195)

The significance of this claim lies in the connection of the mental realm of 'tastes', such as musical preference, to a manifestation of real impacts on the socio-spatial choices of individuals. The ordering of the social world and the connections and interactions, or even interplay, with other individuals and groups are demonstrations of lifestyle and identity that become enacted - and to some extent unconsciously performed through the perceptions of these actions and identities by external agents - through spatial practices within a physical space. In this sense the *nous* implied in cultural preferences underpins the lifestyle distinction through which spatial practice is engaged. As Miles suggests young people are engaged in:

'*[...] a delicate balancing act between the construction of individuality and relationships constructed in groups. In other words, lifestyles are not entirely individual in nature but are constructed through affiliation and negotiation, by active integration of individual and society [...]*' (Miles 2000: 24)

However there is a distinct lack of spatial awareness in the discussion of lifestyle as 'enclaves' or as 'shared patterns of behaviour' (Miles 2000), but a clear connection to the transitions of young people as lifestyles become portrayed by Miles as '*concerned with the continuity of change*' (Miles 2000: 158)[8]. The key contribution is a clearer picture of the importance of consumption as a means by which young people make

sense of and order the social worlds they create, though the understanding of territory remains a-spatial.

These approaches can be combined to give a wider assessment of the importance of lifestyles through which territories are embedded in the social and spatial experiences of youth culture, emphasising both consumer cultural niche markets *and* as an active spatial phenomenon. Hodkinson in particular makes reference to the importance of territoriality to spatial practices of distinction in relation to the interplay of groups and specific locations using, as his example, the pub and club scene of 'Goths':

'*The subcultural nature of Goth events was further strengthened by the contrasting behaviour of the Goth clientele towards those whom they classified as insiders and towards those that they considered outsiders. During one Goth night I attended in Leeds, I noticed the entry of two short haired males dressed in blue jeans and brightly coloured shirts prompted resentful stares and mutterings to the effect of 'what are those trendies doing here?' amongst a group of Goths sitting nearby. While not everyone reacted so directly my long-term experience of the Goth scene enables a confident assertion that most would have noted the presence of these individuals, demarcated them as outsiders, and set out to avoid contact with them, as indeed I did myself.*' (Hodkinson 2002: 90).

The connection of what Hodkinson calls '*collective distinction*' - as an element of spatial practice through the proximity to diverse others - spatialises this debate in the context of the public quite nicely. The suggestion is that tribal '*social worlds*' can be represented in the '*construction of the self*' (ibid: 195) and in the '*mass rites*' of youths occurring in space (Maffesoli 1996: 98) these being based on broad indicators such as lifestyle[9] and specific individual distinctions such as musical taste. Hodkinson shows the importance of 'subcultural capital' as knowledge about a particular lifestyle, not only for defining 'insiders' and 'outsiders' whom are 'allowed' to participate, but also for setting differential status between peer groups:

'*The high rewards for commitment meant that the strong consciousness of identity [...] tended to run alongside the subcultures dominance of friendship patterns, going-out*

habits, shopping routes, cultural possessions and even internet use.' (Hodkinson 2002: 83)

These collective distinctions thus have an impact on lifestyle practice at several levels, taken here to include spatial practices, and thus the interactions between distinct lifestyle tribes as subgroups in spatial production.

Emerging from this initial spatialisation are two key tensions. The first is linked to commercial cultures and commercial spaces (as developed in 2.2). It is possible to suppose, given the prevalence of consumption in lifestyle, that the wider normative *civitas* of the city is based upon the interplay of these smaller social signifiers and relations, played out in '*intermediate zones*' (Maffesofoli: 124-125), or as it is here suggested, the public spaces of the city centre.

In this commercial milieu the importance of the abilities of youth as a highly trained consumer demographic to negotiate the confusing waters of commercial products and signs is critical in the presentation of youth lifestyles. This then informs the perception of youth as a constituent group in public space:

'*They are sophisticated enough consumers to adapt to the consumer society and the spaces that promote that consumer society... Young people are therefore not controlled by the consumer ethic. They are not consumer dupes. But they will partake of the pleasures and the pleasurable spaces of consumerism in a reflexive way that subjects them to the ideologies of consumerism, whilst allowing them to maintain a critical distance (or at the very least a sense of critical distance)*' (Miles 2003b: 72)

This ability suggests that the post-modern consumer can slide from one fluid representational self into another depending on circumstances such as; the combination of products in their attire (Hebdige 1979, 1988), the music they associate with their identity or peer group (Bennet 2000)[10], leisure activities and lifestyle choices (Hendry et al. 1993), language used for communication within the group (Widdicombe & Wooffitt 1995) or environments and venues frequented (Skelton & Valentine 1998; Valentine et al. 1998; Rogers 2002) in a '*pick n' mix of artefacts from a veritable supermarket of style*' (Hodkinson 2002: 38). So pervasive has this

approach to youth become that research has invaded the popular press, suggesting that a way for parents to relate to their child is to identify their tribal distinction. Such stories are also often poorly researched, in fact reinforcing the boundaries existing between generations (Figure 3). The theoretical terminology associated with this refers to the application of 'polysemic'[11] perceptions of lifestyles; meaning that youth are spatialised through the 'performative' display of lifestyles (as a whole way of life) and activities (Borden 2001b: 229-260) thus avoiding the linear homology of previous research. However, this is again variable within the diverse social contexts of individual collectives as people move through different roles in their own day-to-day life[12].

The second point is in the nature of youth as represented in the resurgence of interest in the geography of childhood. Research has been developed on these themes but there is a lack of an awareness of youth as a period of transition in geography, simplistic definitions of 'children', 'teenagers', and 'young adults' (see Valentine 2004) do not do justice to the complexity of the narratives developed in contemporary research. The broad category of adolescence and young adulthood, and more specifically the movement between these demographic classifications as changes in citizenship with a potential impact on lifestyle, and the perception of youth in public, leaves a gap in the understanding of socio-spatial relationships and the tensions in managing youth transitions in public space.[13]

'*[...] there can be no sharp distinction between real embodied lives of children and the imagined, constructed ideas of childhood. Equally the relationship between adults and children transcends simple notions of same and other - there is no dualistic breakpoint at which child becomes adult, and in all kinds of ways children and adults form allegiances on opposition to other children and adults*' (Cloke & Jones 2005: 313)

Despite the move away from the traditionally class oriented subcultural debates towards lifestyle and choice interpretations of tribalism there is still much confusion in the application of terminology in this field. These debates have advanced the ability of theorists to develop debates on the fluid yet fractured identities (Bradley 1996) that

AS A SURVEY GIVES PARENTS THE KEY TO ADOLESCENTS...

Which tribe does your teenager belong to?

THEY are sulky, selfish and completely hormonal – and after years of trying, parents still can't get along with their teenage offspring. Yet now, a report by a Government organisation has finally found a way for adults and young adults to communicate – by revealing what "tribe" the adolescent belongs to.

According to the British Council, all teenagers belong to one of nine tribes. Each tribe has their own distinct identity, fashion, music taste and stomping ground. All the grown-up has to do is recognise the telltale signs which indicate which category the stroppy minor belongs to. Then they can talk to the teen about what means most to them.

Where once there were Mods, Rockers, Punks and New Romantics, now there are Nu-metallers, Townies, Soulstrels and Skaters.

Dr Mark McDermot is a lecturer in health psychology at the University of East London, and completed his PHD in rebelliousness in adolescence. He says that this gang mentality is an important part of growing up. "Adolescence is a time when children are trying out new identities, experimenting with values and discovering what they like and don't like.

"These tribes allow teenagers to find out about themselves and develop new relationships with others who they think are similar to themselves. That makes them feel much safer," he explains. "Fashion is important because clothes are an easy way to manipulate what someone else thinks of you and a good way to embed yourself in your chosen group."

So if you want to start a meaningful conversation with an under-20, use our teenage tribe spotter and get an instant lowdown on what they love and hate.

ANGELA COOKE

GOTHS

TYPICAL TEEN: Kelly Osbourne.
WEARING: (Girls) black clothes and lipstick, lots of hairspray; (boys) not much different.
LISTEN TO: Fear Factory, Marilyn Manson, The Cure.
LOVE: People not understanding them. Band names with "fear" in them.
HATE: Daylight.

GRUNGERS

TYPICAL TEEN: Avril Lavigne.
WEARING: Dreadlocks, baggy combat trousers, Converse trainers, hoodies. Hang out in Army surplus stores and at the front of gigs.
LISTEN TO: US "emo" (emotional) rock bands like Jimmy Eat World.
LOVE: Ill-fitting trousers.
HATE: Lycra.

SKATERS

TYPICAL TEEN: Busted.
WEARING: Labels such as Converse, Dickies, Silas. A skateboard capable of serious tricks.
LISTEN TO: Beastie Boys. Definitely no Grungers' bands.
LOVE: PlayStation.
HATE: "No skateboarding" signs.

NU-METALLERS (boys only)

TYPICAL TEEN: Jack Osbourne.
WEARING: Oversize rock band T-shirts, skateboards, three quarter-length trousers.
LISTEN TO: US heavy metal such as Limp Bizkit, Linkin Park, Blink 182.
LOVE: Skateboarding.
HATE: Anything played at less than pain threshold.

SOULSTRELS

TYPICAL TEEN: Jamelia.
WEARING: (Girls) skin-revealing/tight clothes. Designer accessories and gold jewellery. Nail extensions and a mobile in permanent use. Bling-bling.
LISTEN TO: R&B, hip-hop, soul and pop.
LOVE: D&G and Moschino.
HATE: When their nail extensions fall off in public.

POP PRINCESS (girls only)

TYPICAL TEEN: Charlotte Church.
WEARING: Pink, silver and baby blue – plus add ons from Claire's Accessories.
LISTEN TO: Britney Spears, S-Club, Gareth Gates, Will Young, Atomic Kitten.
LOVE: Prince William.
HATE: Spots.

TOWNIES

TYPICAL TEEN: Wayne Rooney.
WEARING: (Girls) tight trousers, short skirts, chunky jewellery; (boys) designer labels, tracksuits.
LISTEN TO: Rap and R&B.
LOVE: London's Bond Street.
HATE: Radio 2.

INDIE KIDS

TYPICAL TEEN: Elizabeth Jagger.
WEARING: Seventies clothes from charity shops. Straight, floppy hair. Cheap, casual, just-out-of-bed look.
LISTEN TO: Independent rock bands no one else has heard of.
LOVE: John Peel.
HATE: Not being working class.

CLUBBERS

TYPICAL TEEN: Jennifer Ellison.
WEARING: (Girls) turquoise and white. (Boys) Ben Sherman shirts, black shoes, hair gel.
LISTEN TO: Basement Jaxx, Faithless, Ministry Of Sound compilations.
LOVE: Rare grooves.
HATE: Dancing to anything less than 130bpm.

Figure 3. This exhibits the standard fare for defining youth groups in the national press.

Taken from The Daily Express - 09/07/04 :17

bridge the differing social worlds of the researched. However they have not always given an understanding of culture beyond the theoretical and symbolic, whilst offering a much more integrated view of subcultural commercial activity (see Hodkinson 2003: 151) than the Chicago or Birmingham contributions.

This research is interested in the perception of youth (as demonstrated with the figure 3). This includes both their self-identity and the ways in which other key actors see them. The concern here is not with the identity of youths in their family home, or activities at school or at work (even though these can and do inform who they are and how they behave), but with their identity and activities in public space.

Towards the Perception of Youth: Subcultural/Tribal Geographies, Hegemony & Moral Acceptance

The way in which the potential for an integrated analysis of everyday life by using the subaltern and tribal can be rolled out is through an interpretive analysis of activity - such as that of skateboarders - as potentially oppositional (3.2); not to normative public rules of conduct but to the prescriptive conceptual use-value of entrepreneurially driven regeneration. This supposes that the historically perceived concept of the space and the general shift of the 'normative moral landscape' as time passes engender a shift in the perception of activities and their appropriateness within that particular environment.

As much research into youth shows that there is a general link between autonomous youth activity and liminal or marginal spaces there is a connection to be made between the 'disorderly' space of youth and the adult perceptions of the disorderly influence of youth on space. Cloke and Jones make this connection in reference to the street as a public space:

'*However ordered, or unordered those street spaces may be, children are able to disorder the street as an adult space when they transgress spatial and/or temporal boundaries and thereby enter a more liminal, hybrid and between world. Such disordering of space is often accompanied by a* moral signification *of* the landscapes

involved... The disordered spaces of childhood, then, represent moral landscapes subject both to romanticism and to the risk of unchecked desire' (Cloke & Jones 2005: 312, emphasis added)

If this is so then highly visible groups that do not fit the normative landscape of moral acceptability may then find themselves being judged as to the acceptability of their activity by those more powerful in spatial production (i.e. adults). Tensions exist between youth as risky, in this case defined as '*subject to unchecked desire*'. Equally youth lifestyles and spatial practice are potentially designified as a way of understanding and developing closer participatory understandings of young people by the 'romanticification' of their significance amongst adults. This array of tensions in defining youth as citizens with rights of access to the public, regardless of perceptions of disorderliness and liminality have a bearing on the access of young people to hegemonic process[14] (see chapter 4) as well as linking to the exclusionary tendencies implicit in the management of public space in favour of a commercially oriented conceptual representation.

Recent research into the management of skateboarding in commercial or gentrified urban environments (Borden 2000; 2001b; 2001a) raise some of tensions between new operational tactics of management and youth activity in commercial public spaces that arise in this way. The key distinction here is in the break from traditional Marxian notions of 'subcultural resistance' and move towards a more nuanced approach. Actions of skaters, or even more passive recreational youth uses of public space, such as 'hanging out', are seen here as being oppositional but without an organised oppositional or 'subaltern' intent[15]. By engaging with perception through Lefebvre's spatial architectonics (Lefebvre 1974:169-230) the nature of public space thus becomes a process of negotiation between different rhythmic interpretations of experience:

'[...]...*founded on upon the organization of time and rhythms, an organization at the same time public and private, sacred and profane, apparent and secret.*' (Lefebvre 1996: 238)

This negotiation of public 'meaning' - which Lefebvre described through codes, at once restrictive when prescriptive and more fluid codes of 'gestures' – is a series of 'polyrhythmic' negotiations *between* rhythms of the 'self' and the 'other' (Lefebvre 1996: 239) which can be manifest in different forms:

'*In the immediacy of links between groups, between members of groups, and between 'society' and nature, occupied space gives the direct expression – 'on the ground', so to speak' – to the relationships upon which social organisation is founded.*' (Lefebvre 1974: 229)

Using this context of coded rhythmic interplay underpinning social organisation and linking to a language of 'hegemony', then negotiations in more formal contexts as well as visceral experience 'on the ground' also becomes a determinant factor in the nature of any normative conceptual understandings of use – as well as wider 'official lines' on public acceptability. The main format of these civic negotiations are seen in legitimated processes of democracy, such as public participation:

'*Public participation in urban regeneration is a hegemonic project. The nature of participation may be contested but its practice is not.*' (Muir 2004: 953)

Both the use of space, as discussed above, and any active engagement with decision-making in urban regeneration can be seen as a form hegemonic negotiation[16]. These practices of participation are inherently hegemonic operations and processes and as such participation practices are representative of a hegemonically driven awareness of youth, if not a wholly inclusive agenda of meaningful or direct power given to that youth voice.

Public and private agents respond to the activity of youths in different ways, exerting different types of tactical pressures and engaging in different spatial practices (see chapter 9). Through the growing entrepreneurialism in civic management structure the distinct shift in civic-corporate perceptions of normative morality represent a new phase for hegemony 'governance', for example:

'*Participation is operationalised through partnership structures, which have secured 'relative unity' between the organisations of the state and civil society, have contributed to a strong ideology of common interests, and provided an arena in which social conflict can be managed*' (Muir 2004: 953-954)

Take these two threads; a rhythmic and perpetually recoding 'spatial architectonics' (Lefebvre 1974) and a hegemonically negotiated normative approach inherent in the conceptual spaces of new managerial institutions (see chapter 4.1), and add them to the rope of spatial production and it becomes possible to trace the process of a hegemonic dialogue back through the interplay to the key actions of particular sub-groups as participants in spatial production. Still it remains difficult to include what have been statistically shown to be popular youth uses of space, such as hanging out (Hendry et al. 1993: 52-55).

When suggestions of an implicit hegemonic response through the reactions of subgroups to each others representational spaces is grounded in spatial practices then conflict between differing interests, be they concepts, perceptions or experiences, is inevitable.

It does seem as though a deeper understanding of the identity of youths in the city centre will give depth to the nature of the hegemonic dialogue between subcultures and managerial or business led sub-groups and stakeholders. The wider significance of this is in discovering at what point the natural oppositionality of youth to the concept embedded in urban renaissance policy (should it exist) becomes inconvenient for the management of the city centre and how they manage this tension.

How this acceptability is produced reconnects with aesthetics and morality in the production of space in the following discussion. It becomes necessary to develop a deeper understanding the 'othering' of youth and the development of perceptions of youth as problematic to draw out the meaning of these broader discussion on youth research. This prefaces discussions on the interplay between definitions and applications of acceptability in public space from the position of the normative orientation of public activity and the changing influential actors in the final theoretical chapter.

3. 2 Perceiving Youth: Producing Meanings

There is a strong connection of youth culture to public space, which is increasingly discussed in the light of contemporary concerns that public spaces are being consumed themselves and absorbed into the privately managed commercial spaces in the city centre (Goodwin 1993; Jackson 1998). The 'spectacular' nature of some youth cultures and the difficulty in managing youth in the city centre open up a difficult set of tensions with urban renaissance as a process of urban change and in the resultant treatment of 'appropriateness' in public space.

The ways in which young people display their identities and engage with other groups in public has been introduced in brief above. Particularly important here is the distinction between the normative 'self' and the dangerous or untrustworthy 'other'. In developing the links of these debates over identity to issues of space the question brought forth by Lefebvre is key to understanding the role of perception in spatial production;

'*[...] ... how are the rhythms of 'the self' and those of 'the other' determined, oriented and apportioned?*' (Lefebvre 1996: 239)

This discussion shall now be developed to better clarify the connections between the theoretical framework of spatial production (see 2.1) and youth management tactics and strategic policy as a part of the wider framework of urban renaissance as a collection of processes. This offers a reappraisal of some key points in spatial production with an emphasis on young people's experiences of the public and the importance of how they are perceived by wider society. This perception has a bearing on the nature of policy towards young people.

The suggestion has been made that urban renaissance does not include young people in any meaningful way, particularly in relation to the city centre. Some interpretations of policy in practice suggest that this design emphasis could lead to a situation whereby the designer has excluded young people from public space *en masse* (White 1996; Atkinson & Laurier 1998).

The tendency of design to exclude diversity in use-value can be linked to the difficulties experienced in the management of youth. Tensions arise between perceptions of young people as fledgling citizens, in need of protection in an unsafe world, and public pressure to curtail the inappropriateness and anti-social nature of 'yobbish' youth behaviour (Bessant 2003; Worpole 2003). The relative inability of policy to distinguish between when each of these approaches is to be applied demands that a more integrated view be developed including both *perception* and *acceptability* as key factors in the management of youth. This is particularly important if, as suggested above, there is an emphasis in new strategies of design and tactics of management towards developing a 'normative moral landscape' across urban public space, thus implicitly solving the 'problem of youth' (see also 4.2).

Several approaches to the subject of the declining city centre and the perception of youth in public are possible[17]. When considering these connections the notion of acceptability must be developed and given a spatial fix. By doing so the aim is to show that the liminal moral systems that inform our reactions to difference set up, in the case of reactions to youth, a righteous indignation over young peoples presence and activity that is grounded in the perception of them aesthetically. It will be argued that the extent to which this has come to inform strategic policy and management tactics affecting the problem of youth emphasises the potential for dispersal and displacement of 'different' or 'other' youth groups.

Refining Public Perception: Spatialising Acceptability

There are many groups who create difficulties in public space. The very 'publicness' of its nature as urban space can lead to unpleasant associations or experiences of crime, poverty and other social problems, seen and unseen, in the mix of acquaintances and strangers. However in the definition of public that is offered in this research it has been stated that public space is 'a space separate and distinct from the social relations and practices associated with the family, the home or with the workplace in which proximity to diverse strangers gives the opportunity for surprising and unexpected encounters with diverse individuals, who can often be very different to the individual perceiving them'[18]. In the context of difference conflict arises in the

perception of these diverse individuals and the groups to which they inevitably belong. Some of these groups have been discussed either management (chapter 2) or youth (above) other yet to be discussed[19] but how they see each other is particularly important in relation to young people.

In contemporary commercially oriented design-led city centres, urban management has deep connections with place marketing and the image of the city (chapter 2.2). As such young people form 'a thorn in the side' of strategies for urban renaissance. When the need for a tourist and leisure economy in the city centre and the maintenance of democratic and open public space are placed side by side they are bi-polar propositions in many ways. Research has shown where the economic becomes overtly dominant in management strategies and tactics of gentrification result in a revanchism based on questionable aesthetic categorisations (Zukin 1995: 41-42). Where space is left unmanaged social problems or diversity have often become so distinctly visible that they tarnish the image of the city centre as 'clean, safe and accessible'. An example of this is Times Square, New York (Zukin 1995: 133-142) or in the UK where Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds have been signposted by research as favouring the economic emphasis of cultural regeneration and design-led strategies (Bell & Jayne 2003: 126). The social exclusion implicit in renaissance-led gentrification is likely, according to research on minority groups, to impact the more impoverished, dangerous, visible or spectacular of powerless urban minorities (White 1996; Flusty 2000; Smith 2002: 25-29).

Different spatial use-values, 'different' identities and 'Other' activities thus become subject to judgement on increasingly aesthetic and commercially-driven perceptions of appropriateness often led implicitly by perceptions of disorder defined on some highly subjective grounds. Another question arises; have youth subcultures in the city centre come to be seen as a problematic group in the management policy and public perception and if so how has this developed?

Acceptability and Morality: Public Space & the Normative Moral Landscape

Any discussion of perception is linked to spatial practice as a part of the conceptual triad. This refinement of spatial practices does not seek to change its meaning, rather

to add a finer grade to the analysis of changes that may, or may not, shed more light on the separation of use-values in spatial production. It has been stated that:

'*There is no uniform set of rules across society regarding the use of space, as different social groups have differing interpretations of what is appropriate. However, one group is usually in a dominant position to dictate what which people and behaviours are deviant. These ideas of right and wrong are transmitted through space and place, creating a* normative landscape *(Creswell 1996). The behaviour of a person in a particular place generally reflects their interpretations of this place. When these meanings are normalised they appear as common sense, which in turn reinforces the established order (1996)*' (Nolan 2003: 317, emphasis added)

If this is so then it suggests that there is a codified system of morals informing a certain level of acceptability that is maintained in the behaviour exhibited by an individual when in the company of others. When in public this morality can be represented by the strongest collective values and norms shared across the majority of people at a moment in space and time. This is derived in part from Durkheim and his work on the '*conscious collective*' (Durkheim 1893)[20], but is more flexible and individualised than Durkheim's rigid, mechanical approach when rolled out in practice:

'*The totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same society forms a determinate system which has its own life; one may call it the* collective *or* common conscience.' (Durkheim 1893: 79, original emphasis)

This 'conscience collective', or normative 'moral code', is implicit in each individual citizen but the smaller idiosyncrasies vary within individual mental realms. This can be linked to their individual concept of personal identity as constructed through consumer culture or conceptual demographics applied to other users of a space. The combination of individual and group perceptions forms a morally opinionated reservoir which is subject to change over time, hence 'conscience' (of appropriate morality exhibited in appearance, behaviour and activities) 'collective' (forged from the group as they interact in public). The collective perceptions of morality and appropriateness set an informal understanding between the users of public space and

participants of urban life as to what to expect on the streets and in the public spaces of the city in which they live. It forms a codified system of tools by which the individual can draw meaning from the '*realm of strangers and acquaintances*' and understand the activities of these different 'others'.

The term moral 'landscape' has been used throughout this work instead of 'code' as the codified system of morality suggest a linear process which this is not. This idea has also been applied here spatially, rather than left as an abstract connection of thoughts in the mental realm. This spatial connotation gives a grounding of morality to the specific locations, and allows for a more direct comparison to be made between different perceptions of what is appropriate in public space in the light of a separation has been discussed.

Michael Foucault's appreciation of public punishment and execution can be used to demonstrate a historical shift in this normative public morality through time and space; though typically his work is applied to concept of power, space and the body (Driver 1985). In '*Discipline and Punish*' (1975) Foucault demonstrates effectively the extent to which change can affect this public code of morality over long periods of time. He achieves this by explicitly describing public punishment and the spectacle of public execution in the 17th century, charting the change in morality, law and social justice which thus affected the perception of the public spectacle and over time the moral perception of public execution:

'*By the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the gloomy festival of punishment was dying out, though here and there it flickered momentarily to life...it leaves the domain of more or less everyday perception and enters that of abstract consciousness; its effectiveness is seen as resulting from its inevitability, not from its visible intensity... the publicity has shifted to the trial, and to the sentence*' (Foucault 1975: 8-9)

The shift of public spectacles of punishment from the public eye to the more sanctioned punitive courts (and thus leaving the awareness of punishment within the collective conscience) is one of many significant changes to the use and perception of public spaces in cities, and demonstrates the ability of the 'conscience collective' to

reflect the normative public 'moral landscape' of an epoch[21]. Equally importantly it represents the dynamic connections between the spatial public with the social public and the mental public, introduced previously through the Lefebvrian conceptual triad:

- The physical space in the form of architecture and environment itself, the geographical and symbolic boundaries of the space. *E.g. A plaza*

- The mental realm as the changing perception of what is an appropriate form of public spectacle and the way in which people deconstruct meaning of a spectacle. *E.g. The widely accepted understanding of appropriate ways is which to use the plaza*

- The social relations that take place between the physical bodies of individuals within a space, the actual act of 'use' in a public space and actions engendered by their mental perceptions. *E.g. The reaction* and *interaction of users & managers to and with each other*

The changing normative public moral landscape at the end of the 18th century affected the public perception of torture and execution as appropriate activities for public spectacle. The actions and activities in public spaces therefore began to change with distinct results. What in the 16th century appeared to be a justified, entertaining spectacle of painful and often fatal punishment for a crime would, by todays landscape, be perceived as an exercise in barbarism[22].

What this implies is that the perception of morality as a defining quality of the meanings and uses of public space are liable to change, thus our notions of acceptability are flexible over time. Lefebvre discusses this as the 'coming-into-being' of codes inherent in the socio-spatial practices that tie together concepts and experiences through and over time (Lefebvre 1974: 16-18)[23]. Firstly, change occurs through the widespread acknowledgement of a moral consensus that is prevalent in the perception of both values and norms of accepted social behaviour at that moment in history; this is the dominant morality of underpinning all public space at a moment of history. Secondly, the changing membership and occupancy of specific public

spaces as users enter and leave or conduct their business and activities within a space through and over time has a 'knock on' effect on the balance of this socially accepted normative moral landscape. That is, as the membership or occupancy of public space changes then the dominant consensus within that space will also fluctuate from moment to moment according to the dominant user demographics within the boundaries of the specific space. However, the regulations dictating morality do not change so - as suggested by Worpole and Greenhalgh (chapter 2.1) - when public space becomes dominated by a particular group tensions will arise in the production of public space. Here questions arise on the nature of validity, territory and citizenship in the real lived experience of public space as a result of these normatively driven moral judgements of appropriateness:

'*...it is not simply the disparity between the normative and the real that lies at the heart of some of the problems, but that we also need to rethink the relationship between civil society and the state, the public and the private, and the mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion that regulate membership of socio-cultural and political communities.*' (Kofman 1999)

The dynamic process of differentiation between acceptable and inappropriate is based on the perception and interpretation of each individual or 'user' in public space of all other users, groups, symbols or boundary markers. This of course includes the economic, socio-cultural, and political identities of each individual, perceived, interpreted and reacted to moment to moment by each individual, and indeed each group, encountered through space and over time.

Application of this contrast between collectively distinct notions of acceptability become particularly significant to the 'production of meaning' in public space when the processes describes are applied to the perception of young people. By developing the 'normative moral landscape' as a form of perceived knowledge underpinning the interplay between different groups (with different perceptions of appropriate public behaviour / activity) the mediation of responses through social relations can be applied to the strategies and tactics of management and linked with the reactions of local businesses / wider public communities to large youth gatherings in public

space[24]. This process in itself is a large part of the hegemonic connection between elements of the conceptual triad in practice.

The way in which users of public space reflect upon each other and pass through each other as time passes and as users enter and leave the boundaries of a specific public space reflexively informs the meaning of that space, and the normative balance of the moral landscape embodied within it, for each individual and all users or participants in a constant oscillatory effect. This informs a singular moment of perception and reaction within spatial practices.

By assessing this 'pathway of perceptive moments' then spatial practices appear as a filtration system by which meaning can be produced and tied to the architectural boundaries of specific spaces. Each of these spaces has specific yet ambiguous interpretations from the perspective of each individual (as a user), all of whom generally act within the tenets of acceptability in line with their individual morality moment to moment as they experience public space.

Connections: Participation & the Mistrust of Youth

The tensions that arise from this normative landscape of morality can be constructed through the identification of distinct cultures, not bounded hermeneutically as in traditional cultural studies, but created through the perception of difference as collective distinctiveness. In this context the perception of difference is as, if not more, important than difference itself, as it informs reactions, and thus the impact of wider notions of acceptability as fed upon from the experience of public space over time.

As a demographic, 'lifestyle tribe' or urban user group young people have a historically weak position particularly in relation to the classically constructed hegemonic negotiation which supposedly underpins modern capitalist society[25].

Matthews et al (1999) discuss this in relation to the common approaches to youth participation in modern decision-making, isolating several factors in the exclusion of youth.

These include first; the threat to traditional understandings of childhood. This suggests that participation in decision-making damages the balance of power in the family by lessening parental control and responsibility for their children. It also de-signifies the innocence of youth by increasing the pressures of citizenship upon the young. The approach has been criticised for demonstrating an idealised view of youth and not taking into account the pressures and practices of youth peer groups and educational experiences.

Secondly, it has been proposed that children are 'too young' to participate. This view states that youth are too immature and irresponsible to be trusted with decisions. Also if youth are allowed to make mistakes then the costs outweigh the benefits of inclusion. This approach is criticised as having 'arbitrary and inconsistent' understanding of young people:

'*For example, within the UK a young person is deemed criminally responsible at the age of 10, sexually competent at the age of 16 but not politically responsible until the age of 18, when suddenly, without training or rehearsal young people enjoy the rights of suffrage*' (Matthews et al. 1999: 136-7)

The perception of youth covers both sides of the coin without managing to advance any better solutions to the problem (Bessant 2003: 89), treating young people as a 'high risk group' in need of protection from the ugly urban other and as a yet through the public imagination as a leader in the creation of disorder at the same time; '*These imaginings reflect and constitute a range of anxieties about the dangers posed by some young people, or to some young people, and how these risks might be economically and prudently managed*' (Kelly 2003: 167). Where solutions to 'the problem of youth' exist they are typically in the form of invasive policy based interventions 'targeting' youth (Kelly 2003; Scoon & Bynner 2003), or security based tactics (Raco 2003c) which are problematic at best as a way of reaching young people across a broad spectrum.

The approach to youth participation in this context becomes one where young people are again portrayed as a problem to be solved using better techniques for the management of 'risk' (Bessant 2003: 88). In this climate of fear, and in the context of

wider perceptions of the city centre as a realm of risky strangers, a particular view of youth in public space has evolved:

'*The abiding image of young people in the urban environment is perhaps that of the rebellious and potentially dangerous troublemaker 'hanging out' on street corners. This is an image young people as unsavoury deviants. It is an image of young people as lost, hopeless and potentially threatening. But perhaps most importantly this is an image of young people as victims.*' (Miles 2003b: 66)[26]

Distinctions between youth groups are forgotten in discussions of this nature, both by academics and decision-makers; but difference remains in the public eye and in public space. In national and regional newspapers and polemic speeches by the Home Secretary, buzz words such as 'yobs' are frequent and often the popular media discuss the neighbours from hell and youth 'yobs' side by side as a single issue (Craig 2004). This has led to anti-social behaviour and 'respect' becoming central issues in political rhetoric (Anon 2004g; Assinder 2004; Wheeler 2004).

Furthermore, the questions of a criminalisation of youth are raised by reporters and academics alike (Casciani 2003). One way important factor in the development of these practices is through the widespread and consistent moral panics over 'the state of youth' throughout the 20th century. The President of the UK National Childrens Bureau is quoted on this subject as being aware of the problems both for and against an open approach to youth conceding that young people can be seen as belligerent in public due to their manner of communicating with each other (e.g. coarse language at high volume etc) (Barrett 2003). However the link between the tabloid press, the youth courts and youth justice agendas is made explicit. The suggestion is that even a person in a position of authority such as this feels that '"*This moral panic about young people and crime is unhelpful and unnecessary,*"' (ibid 2003: 15) and sees it as affecting the management of youth across the nation.

Perceptions of the Dangerous 'Other': Institutionalising the Mistrust of Youth

There is potential to develop youths performative activities and stylistic identity display, which informs collective distinctiveness, as being also and at the same time

the means by which they are singled out as a transgressive and problematic as an 'Other' in public space.

The perception of youth activities is often researched through the focus of the media representations of young people. The tendency of these to find sensational stories of delinquency and report on the incidents of horrific violence, as committed by young people, are among the more reactionary polemics in the press over the malaise of morality amongst younger generations (9.2). These have been linked to what can be seen as the effective demonisation of youth in the media (Hay 1995; Furedi 2002:109-115)[27]. The anxiety and fear of youth in public resulting from this coverage has created tensions in the perception of youth in public, the tactics used for the policing public space and the representations of public space presented in place-marketing rhetorics. Further, mystified by the problems of understanding the youth as a demographic of users, as a part of the life-course (Furlong & Cartmel 1997; Brannen & Nilsen 2002), a raft of agendas for imagining young people has emerged. These are manifest through strategic guidance policies or as paternal dictations of local provisions, communicated in a one-way dialogue with young people - from strategic guidance to local authorities thence prescribed onto young people through prescriptive internal negotiations - against the recommendations of civic youth workers and VCS agencies. These agencies themselves have become hybrid organisations, often subordinate to Local Authorities and charitable contributions for funding, thus powerless to change the process, and youth services have as a result been left in disarray:

'*These processes of hybridisation are often contested, mediated, messy and contradictory. They open up and close off possibilities for the regulation of young people. They are reflexive in the sense that their outcomes are uncertain and provisional. They are submitted to continual processes of review, evaluation and audit... Here risk management and minimisation – via individual, community, and institutional capacity for responsible, rational deliberation and action – emerges as a governmental end across all aspects and arenas of human being in the world, local and global.*' (Kelly 2003: 173)

A comparison can be made between the perception of youth and the perception of other minorities that are perceived or reacted to as a dangerous other. These may be for example; homeless, criminal, disabled, ethnic minorities etc, which are represented in strategies and policies of urban renaissance in a way very different from that one would expect as applied to young people. Once defined as an 'other', ensconced in rhetorics of disadvantage and poverty or often having had their creative and stylistic identities designified by authority figures as just 'kids going through a phase' youth takes on a much more anti-social guise:

'*Once established, a diametrical opposition between the same and the Other may be threatened by the geographical proximity of difference. Transgressions (or the threat of them) challenge the saliency of existing socio-spatial orders and may provoke forms of boundary maintenance. The latter may range from stereotypes which reinforce the difference between 'us' and 'them' to acts of violence which forcefully put others 'in their place.*' (Wilton 1998: 174)

Historically, this can be seen in the reaction of the Teddy boys to disparagement of their apparel in Jefferson's work, discussed earlier, and in the treatment of many stylistically distinctive others in public spaces in the city centre today. Such concerns are reinforced by a general perception of youth as a transition (Cloke & Jones 2005)[28], something that people will eventually grow out of; particularly as many of those who were once Mod's or Punks are now respectable 'normal' people, there is an unwillingness to engage with this demographic in any meaningful way, manifest as an unwillingness to give youth any power. This can be presented as '*an increasingly generalised and institutionalised sense of anxiety and mistrust in relation to the capacities of todays young people to make the transition to adulthood*' (Kelly 2003: 166).

Seen in this way the social politics of 'Othering' - through disparagement of difference and a broader lack of understanding of the importance of identity to young people's lifestyles - is embedded in spatial policy. It can be argued that is manifest through attempts to remove, 'move on' or displace unsightly 'Others' linked to emergent strategic policies and management tactics of zoning public 'appropriateness' in line with redevelopment concepts of how spaces *should be* used.

The division of people into demographic groupings within space - even sporting sophisticated definitions of acceptability - is at once both a cause and an outcome of these dynamics of spatial production. By defining 'us' and 'them' the normative moral landscape is reinforced by the territorial senses of collective distinction felt amongst distinct demographics of users. However this is in effect informed in policy only by those demographics able to engage in meaningful hegemonic discourse with decision-makers. A reproduction of the most dominant public moral landscapes is likely to occur through what appears to act as a reification of the differences between groups reflexively engaging with policy generation by existing within the normative morality underpinning all actions affecting spatial production. However, spatial production is also is predicated upon the interaction of individuals and groups *in situ* which is the essence of the public. In this sense; '*physical proximity challenges the legitimacy of social boundaries*' (ibid: 174), by the very nature of being close to each other within the same space people of all ages are forced to interact meaning that peoples perception and reactions to what they experience are constantly changing moment-to-moment over time. This fits with a the understanding of spatial production advanced in this research (see chapter 2.1 & 10.4).

The urban 'Other' is seen, then, as that which is different from the norm or from the collective perceptions of the majority at any given time. It is a system of social differentiation based on demographic classification of the collectively distinctive aesthetic lifestyles with which people engage, and is another layer of spatial production. When applied to the production of public spaces in the city centre, this can be very useful, as suggested above:

'*Classification is an important part of logic. It occurs in both lay and scientific thought and can be seen as the way in which patterns of similarity and difference are generated through sorting, grouping and exclusion. But it should always be remembered that the system of classification is an artifice, there is nothing natural; or obvious about it and it invariably serves to facilitate thinking from some perspectives more than from others*' (Shurmer-Smith & Hannam 1994: 90)

Theoretically, youth represent a significant participant population in public life who reside among the less powerful of groups in the production and reproduction of space. Practically, the approach to youth in this research suggests that they are a group with little effective social disadvantage - in the sense of poverty, education and economy - but again in contradiction to this they are a group marginalised from the decision-making processes of urban renaissance. Central to this assessment is the concern that youth may as a result be forced into more liminal citizenship and marginal areas that are less public and in fact more dangerous than the design-led concept of public they inconvenience. Some aspects of these multi-layered dialectics have been discussed above in relation to policy & youth; a simple connection between these tensions linking both management and youth, through interplay between these groups, can be found in investigations of fear, risk and the resultant impact of 'zero tolerance' strategies of policing (Merrifeild 2000; Silverman & Della-Giustina 2001: 951-954) in contemporary city centre public spaces (Oswell 1998: 38).

Towards Interplay: Fear, Risk Management & Youth in Public Space

For many users of urban space *all* people that they come into contact with are a source of trepidation - difference itself is an object of fear. Fear itself has become a subject of discussion and research in relation to these emergent tensions in policy and management of the public and the growing totalitarianism in Western democracy:

'*Like any word with such powerful connotations, fear is a term that is controlled via processes of legitimation, exclusion and prescribed interpretation. It is a word which in wider political terms is licensed to those whose fears are 'legitimised' by dominant political and media structures. At the same time its use is denied to those in the ranks of the 'deviant' or 'transgressive'... the fears of the marginalised and powerless are often regulated behind those who are in reality less vulnerable to crime*' (Shirlow & Pain 2003)

The result of a growing obsession amongst the general public over personal security in public space is increasingly recognised as manifest in wider cultural practices and public attitudes, which are fickle and easily stirred into moral panic over the uncertainty and risk[29] associated with the modern world:

'*The fear of violent crime influences human relations at all levels of society. As with health scares, societies free-floating consciousness of risk attaches itself to one type of crime on Monday, a different one on Wednesday and yet another on Sunday. During the last few years, in the UK, public attention has at one time or another focused on road rage, criminal children, stalking and random violence in public places.*' (Furedi 2002: 23-24).

The perception of criminality and the fear of crime inform the creation of institutionalised caution and the 'precautionary principle' (Furedi 2002 107-121) in environmental management the potential for individuals or groups being excluded from public space through the reorientation of operational tactics of control is thus dramatically increased:

'*Under this principle, which is now widely accepted as sound practice in the sphere of environmental management, the onus of proof rests with those who propose change. Since the full consequences of change are never known I advance, the full implementation of this principle would prevent any form of scientific or social experimentation. By institutionalising caution, the precautionary principle imposes a doctrine of limits. It offers security but in exchange for lowering expectations, limiting growth and preventing experimentation and change*' (Furedi 2002: 9)

Policies towards minorities, or those groups from which panic has been born, again can potentially lead to long term damage to the perceptions of that group by other users of the public who see them as a threat (as is the case with many youth groups and individuals) (Pain 2001: 902; 2003; Shirlow & Pain 2003). This is particularly relevant given the history of youth cultures for testing the boundaries of civility by experimenting and changing the normative morality of public spaces. Thus transgression from the normative moral landscape of the slightest kind is subject to increasing scrutiny as a personal 'risk' to the individual and framed within rhetorics of the disorderly or anti-social[30]. For example, the aesthetic association of an individual with a stigmatised group through their stylistic apparel, *could* (a) conflict with the appropriate user demographic prescribed in conceptual visions and plans, and (b) lead to the growth of public opinion in opposition to a youth group through the

local or national media, and (c) lead to a tactical response built into the management tactics born from the design-led concept in response to public opinion which excludes the individual, or the entire group, from discussion of a redevelopment plan and the resultant physical space. The lack of a centrally organised political entity amongst youth, and a general - if anecdotal - disillusionment with government in general, seem to suggest that subaltern resistance is less central to youth experiences than the efforts to find a space of their own in an increasingly regulated commercial urban public, as Miles suggests:

'*Young people's use of urban space often represents an effort to secure space within dominant power structures as opposed to outwit them*' (Miles 2003a: 69)

The perspective of 'spectacular' youth as subcultural tribes in public spaces, outlined above, facilitates the separation of managers conceptual representations of public space from the lived representational experiences of youth by generating the perception that young people, particularly when unsupervised in public can become an immoral and dangerous 'Other'. There is the possibility here for this theoretical separation (and thus conflict of interests) of conceptual and lived public spaces to play out in spatial practice. The implications of a dialectic opposition between the public and private in the operation of spatial practices at the street level are further demonstrated in this site specific example of Peoples Park, Chicago:

'*Two opposed and perhaps irreconcilable, ideological visions of the nature and purpose of public space were evident in the words of homeless people, activists, merchants and the city and university officials as they sought to explain the long and sometimes violent struggles over Peoples Park. In the first of these visions, public space is taken and remade by political actors; it is politicized at its very core; and it tolerates the risks of disorder (including recidivist political movements) as central to its functioning. In the second visions, public space is planned, orderly, and safe. Users of this space must be made to feel comfortable, and they should not be driven away by unsightly homeless people or unsolicited political activity*' (Mitchell 1995: 115)

Towards the Interplay

In developing these tensions into an interplay of interests and actions between young people, and other key actors in the private, the wider public, and managerial institutions it helps to ask:

- Are there mechanisms in place to bridge the gap between managers and youth users in the production of new public spaces within the rhetorics, strategies and tactics of urban renaissance?

Developing these tensions to connect the revanchist tendencies of urban renaissance to young people in the city centre is central to the reconciliation of inclusive lived experiences and the social exclusion inherent in entrepreneurial management. These are here driven through the logic of spatial production to refine these rhythms of urban experience within an empirical research project.

The theoretical production of public space is played out in the separation of conceived and lived spaces, young peoples lifestyles in the city centre need to be better understood. This can only be done by combining the assessment of new managerial intermediaries and the ways in which they are linked to stake-holder partnerships *in parallel* to a discussion of intermediary actors whose remit embraces youth services, needs and wants. Advancing this practical element of research within a theory of spatial production the abstract and differential as in depth minutiae add to the redefinition of representational spaces, advancing the understanding of the conceptual triad applied to different user demographics *in situ* (see 4.2). As the dominant perception of activities and appearance appears to inform spatial practices, and thus use-values, through the normative moral landscape what we must ask empirically (see chapter 8) is:

How do the groups of young people who assemble in commercial public spaces in city cores view and experience this space *in situ*?

Chapter 2 set a broad context for a top-down discussion of previous research assessing the production of space and management trends linked to urban renaissance. This cross-disciplinary context setting description has advanced the tensions in urban renaissance demonstrating that there are distinct groups with distinct interests involved in a dynamic interplay of spatial production. Further, here there are clear tensions in the prescriptive planning and re-appropriated use of urban public spaces born from the interplay between collectively distinct groups (ranging from the young people to the decision-makers).

The discussion in this chapter has made connections at the general level between managers, as those tasked with developing and implementing urban renaissance, and young people, as a key group in danger of systemic exclusion from both space and citizenship in this context of regeneration.

The final chapter of this theoretical discussion paves the way for the empirical body of the thesis by developing more *explicit* tensions between managers and young people. The specific intermediary groups, policies 'on the ground' and maintenance practices elided from urban renaissance rhetorics are brought forward. Thus the potential and actual mechanisms of exclusion *and* participation generated by changing management structures of citizenship and regeneration, and the processes of spatial production, are unpacked by addressing the subject of interplay.

Chapter 4.
INTERPLAY BETWEEN PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION IN COMMERCIAL PUBLIC SPACE

In this research thus far the focus has moved across several social and spatial scales amongst a range of issues. Firstly; the nature of spatial production and the definition of public space, secondly; the entrepreneurialism that has developed in urban renaissance strategies, thirdly; the connections of this to increasingly entertaining and themed developments, and the coordination of these factors in effectively blurring the distinctions between public and private space.

This approach to the production of space has been placed alongside the broad context of youth cultural research within a more spatial paradigm. The perception of young people as a user group in public space has been highlighted as a key factor in both how spaces are perceived, used or lived and how they are redeveloped and managed. It can be suggested that conflict is developing between the managerial concept of the public and the youth lived experience – this is catalysed around the perception of appropriateness, orientations of difference and otherness and the strategies of design and tactics of management applied to anti-social behaviour. It has been argued in this work that this separation of concept from lived experience occurs through a series of consequential changes to the management of public space and the city centre as a whole. This is in turn representative of a shifting in the emphasis of the production of space.

The connection of top-down and bottom-up strategies for management combined with informal and ever shifting youth groups allows for a more flexible understanding of spatial production as a lived process occurring through space and over time[1]. As such specific groups and their potential to affect the urban renaissance in city centre public space must be addressed more directly.

This chapter will thus discuss in more depth some of the specific agencies, their actions and potential effects of changes in the management of space and the management of youth; developing the nature of youth activity in a changing public.

The dynamic processes of interplay between managers and minority users are rolled out by unpacking informal hegemonic negotiations between examples of key actors.

4.1 Socio-Spatial Practices: Connecting Managerial Themes

The theoretical discussion and review of both literature and research has developed further the initial premise that conceived and lived spaces are becoming separate and distinct. This final theoretical chapter aims to ground this debate in the empirical research by connecting these discourses to substantive questions. Essentially the aim is to connect top-down structural approaches to management with geographical ethnographies (of both youth culture *and* management). The cultural experiences and ideologies of public-private urban governance (played out through strategies and tactics of urban renaissance) and those of young people (played out through activity in public) can be reconciled by looking at both the key actors of separation and the key points of connection.

Two important factors in the interplay between users and managers are the design processes and concept of use underpinning the broader regeneration strategy. Whilst access to these decision-makers is difficult for youth groups the new partnership-led form of urban management gives commercial stakeholders with distinct private interests' direct access to this process (see 2.2). A few of the more significant managerial institutions to have evolved in the generation and implementation of the commercially-driven urban renaissance policy across the UK will be discussed below. To complement this, an appreciation of those managerial groups closest to the bottom-up experience of strategy, policy and tactics will harness the role of the VCS. This begins to develop the notion of the intermediary more fully, showing connections between urban managers and youth minorities, as well as between key decision-makers and commercial stakeholders.

New Institutions of Urban Management: Privatisation in the Production of Space

A brief synopsis of some key examples along this chain of entrepreneurially-inclined managerial organisations sets up the discussion of key themes in the actions of these groups; highlighting connotations for the future of regeneration, urban management and use of city centre public spaces. This is the pivotal locus where the role of new

urban management institutions as mediators between specific sets of interests is simplest to define.

There has been a marked increase in the independence of regional actors from central government for the co-ordination and generation of specific plans and policies. From the initial awareness of the need for a devolved approach to policy in Agenda 21 (Evans 2001) to the much studied Urban White Papers (D.E.T.R 1999, 2000) guidelines have been rolled out, from a number of different commentators (O.D.P.M 2003, 2004a, 2004c, 2004b), on the state of towns and cities and how to improve them. Regional institutions are not the focus in this research but it must be acknowledged that several of the key actors and agendas instigated at the regional level are becoming influential in the orientation of urban regeneration policy on a more local scale.

The substantive focus of this research is to be located at the local scale. Each city often has a unique historically grounded policy agenda which favours a case study approach (see chapter 5). Key institutions in city centres directly responsible for local strategies laid out in accordance with the Urban White Papers recommendations for redevelopment can be isolated, and the specific actions unpacked within this regeneration agenda (Imrie & Raco 2003). Among the recommendations developed from the broader strategy were the need for public-private partnerships and a better standard of strategic planning for the delivery of improvements to urban architecture, infrastructure and culture (D.E.T.R: 7-11). Place-marketing strategies have developed as a part of such strategic planning linked to fulfilling the needs of these new private stakeholder partners but not without being criticised fore their lack of depth locally and over emphasis on the universal applicability of such strategies (Raco 2003: 244). Frequently this has appeared due to the perception of a need to compete with other city centres and conurbations for the attraction of investment, such as recognisable brand-names as commercial anchor stores or potential future stakeholders. As such, a climate of competition in regeneration abounds. Some key examples of emergent institutions connected to this commercially driven form of regeneration have evolved out of the New Labour approaches to urban policy since 1997. Such initiatives brought through this New Labour driven renaissance have seen Urban Regeneration Companies, Local Strategic Partnerships, Regional Development Agencies and other local, regional and national endeavours brought forth in attempts to restructure the

form and delivery of an urban renaissance[2]; the rhetoric of the 'urban' in fact underpins much of the Urban White Paper giving this 'renaissance' specifically more commercial connotations in order to separate it from the broad range of broadly unsuccessful 20th century urban policy:

'*Where regeneration was the medicine for socials degeneration, renaissance is the medicine for urban malaise*' (Lees 2003)

Emergent from this melee of government restructuring is a series of local commercially oriented pseudo-civic government offices. Foremost amongst these are the local and regional town and city centre managers.

Town / City Centre Management (TCM / CCM)

Town and City Centre Management (CCM) aims to bring together key 'stakeholders' in the urban environment such as '*property owners, residents, businesses and others with an interest in the town centre to encourage activity and investment. Town centre management partnerships do this by agreeing a shared vision, creating a strategy suited to local needs and implanting an action plan. Many partnerships have employed a town centre manager to co-ordinate their activities.*' (D.E.T.R: 70)

The main function of Town and City Centre Management (CCM) is to act as a liaison with civic governance for its corporate and business stakeholders from *inside* civic governance, emphasising the ideal situation for corporate-led regeneration. There is thus less concern in CCM with civic interests than there are with business interests. As such CCM plays a key role in the ongoing place marketing of city centres as sites for economic activity and cultural experience (Page & Hardyman 1996), and bring together commercial and civic investment for the purpose of marketing the local area, stimulating closer public-private partnerships, and developing sustainable CCM over the long term (Warnaby et al. 2005)[3].

This is significantly different to Urban Regeneration Companies (URCs), as one of the other key regeneration initiatives brought in during the late 20th century. While URCs are subsidised from government sources, and are accountable through such

revenue plans to local authorities and national government, the majority of TCM, and the partnerships encouraged or created by them, are self-sustaining. As such it can be argued that the actions they engender are primarily driven to fit the needs of corporate investors and the private sector, as that is typically the main source of financing. Also URCs have a temporary agenda limited to a particular timeframe, TCM is a permanent fixture in local urban management as long as the finance is present.

Association of Town Centre Management (ATCM)

The ATCM is a regulatory and managerial body that coordinates the efforts of respective TCMs across the UK. The institution sees itself as '*the UK's prime unifying force for the vast range of private, public and community sector interests that interact with the management, improvement and promotion of the town centre environment, with a social or economic interest in our town and city centres.*' (ATCM 2003b)

The role of the ATCM is to coordinate the regeneration initiatives and activities of TCM across the UK to better influence the national policy agenda and decision making at all levels of government.

Traditionally strategy development and tactical implementation of wider national guidelines such as the Urban White Paper at the local level is the domain of the Local Authorities. In the face of the widespread problems facing city centres new strategies have come forward and new spaces are being created as a result[4]. These are often heavily influenced by the private sector membership which underpins TCM/CCM as a part of civic government.

The ATCM are in many ways a publication house for guidelines on TCM operations, they also offer feedback on successful TCM/CCM as well as acting as a locus point for networking outside of government for these new urban actors. They also develop investment protocols and procedures and act as a Non-Government Organisation (NGO) in lobbying for further free-market changes to urban governance and policy. In this way they are able to directly access policy generation at both local and national scales for the benefits of their members within this framework of partnership-led governance.

Potential Impact of New Managerial Groups as Intermediaries

The notion of intermediaries is developed from the work of Pierre Bordieu in his seminal work on '*Distinction*' (1984). In this work one of the themes discussed is the role of cultural intermediaries, in what Negus refers to as '*a precise and casual manner*' (Negus 2002: 505). The concept of the intermediary class between production and consumption can be divorced from the ideological connotations and reapplied here as a potential connector between actors and agencies, occurring as a phenomenon at several levels of governance in different ways. The intermediary here is represented as this mediator between distinct interests as they coalesce materially around specific nexus points in the systemic operation of governance.

There are comparative elements of the original concept applicable to this framework (these are developed in chapter 10). However, at *this* stage the intermediary is presented as a specific actor within a managerial sphere of influence. These intermediaries operate within a specific element of strategic discourse and focus on tactics targeted specifically at improving the connections between subgroups - such as the civic managerial machinery and a key interest group, this might range from stake-holder partners to minority urban cultural groups, like youth or another specific subcultural minority. Significantly this is generally targeted at a singular specific connection oriented by the themed remit of the individual or agency represented.

Of the groups linked to the urban regeneration agenda of New Labour this research is most concerned with the implications arisen by the institution of Town or City Centre Management (TCM/CCM). The role of this agency as the lynch pin of many public-private partnerships places them at the centre of the renegotiation of strategic planning policy, place-marketing and the development of large-scale regeneration projects. URCs play much the same role but whilst the three pilot projects launched in the early 1990's have fared reasonably well a have developed into approximately ten outwardly successful URCs there are, by comparison, approximately 300 TCM/CCM initiatives across Britain at this time, and the number of similar schemes is increasing. As such CCM links into most aspects of government organisation and spreads from the development of local connections between stakeholders in specific cities, to

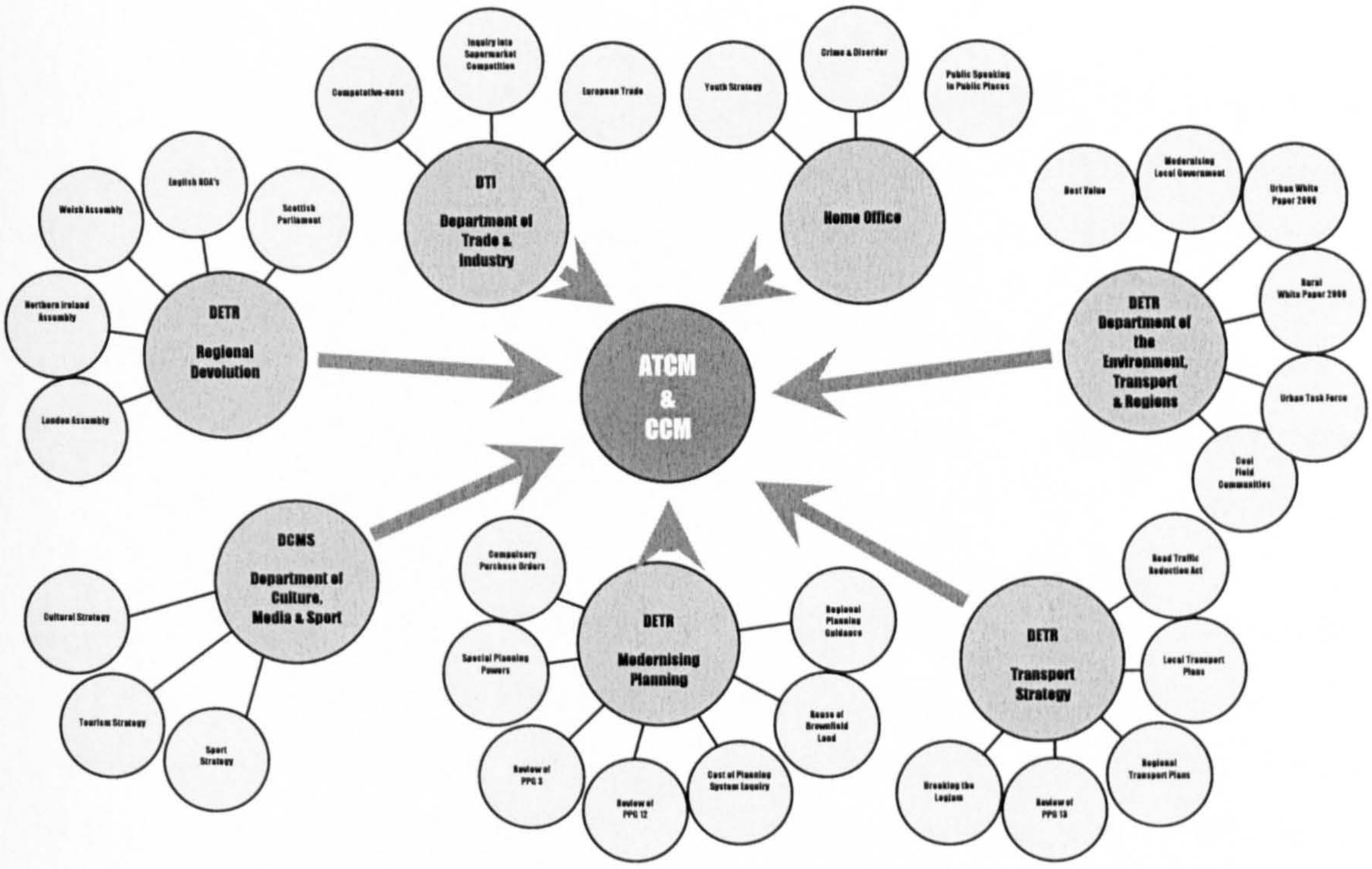


Figure 4. Range of UK policy developments impacting on TCM in 1999

(ATCM 2000: 1)

modernisation of local government and planning guidance. It has become a key intermediary in connecting the interests of key stakeholders, investors and partners in the commercial (or private) with the strategic policy and tactical operations of civic (or government) sectors of managerial influence (figure 4).

Many of the Urban Task Force's (DETR 1999) recommendations coincide with the interests of CCM. This allows CCM, as an intermediary, unprecedented access to the machinery of governance - linking into transport strategies for local urban areas, the regional restructuring of governance, tourism, culture and sport, the development of youth strategies in the Home Office (including anti-social behaviour issues) and even stretching as far in influence as issue of foreign direct investment (FDI) and inter-urban competitiveness (Figure 4) [5].

City Centre Management, Influence and Business Improvement Districts[6]

CCM have also become a key group responsible for the implementation of Business Investment Districts (BIDs) in the UK:

'[BIDs] *are a North American invention designed to raise revenue from the private sector in defined areas and town and city centres, to pay for additional services in those areas, which cannot be financed as public services. A wide range of additional services can be provided in this way, for example Street Wardens, higher than normal standards of street cleansing, physical improvements to the public realm, promotion and marketing, security services, new infrastructure, public art, conservation projects. The key is that these services must be additional to those which are, or should be, funded in the usual way by the public sector; so that BIDs are not a means by which the local authority raises additional rate revenue to pay for services which should be funded from normal income. They must also be specific to a defined area and appropriate to its needs; approved by at least a majority of the business rate payers in that area because of the benefits to them; compulsory on all payers once approved by the majority; and delivered through the mechanism of public-private partnership*' (Baldock 2002)

BIDs have been hugely successful in the US, particularly in inner city areas (Harding 2003), and are still in the developmental stages in the UK. Despite trepidation amongst many aspects of the business community there is a strong government push behind the development and implementation of BIDs in city centres throughout the UK (DTLR 2002), this is facilitated by the ATCM and regional TCM (ATCM 2001).

22 pilot projects have been implemented across the UK with a projected gestation period of 18 months to 2 years, based on a US model of BID development process (ATCM 2003a). This adds to the initial BID in the UK 'The Circle Initiative':

'*Funded through £4.6 million of Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) from the London Development Agency (LDA), it is led by Central London Partnership (CLP), with the City of Westminster as the accountable body. There are five partnerships - Better Bankside, Circle Waterloo, Holborn Business Partnership, Paddington Circle and Piccadilly Circus Partnership - that are being funded over a five year period from 2001.*' (CentralLondonPartnership 2001)

These London based BIDs are already functioning and are funded for a minimum of 5 years. However enthusiastically the implementation of BIDs has been endorsed by national and local government (ODPM 2001), there remain serious questions over the effect of BIDs. At a British Urban Regeneration Association (BURA) and the Local Government Association (LGA) conference in 2002:

'*While there was general agreement [between BURA and LGA] that BIDs had potential to work in this country, speakers and delegates warned that a number of pitfalls must be avoided*' (Skidelsky 2002)

Key amongst these pitfalls, not just with BIDs but with CCM also, is the growing tendency of these institutions to treat the indigenous users of the city centre as a problem to be solved, instead of as the democratic electorate to whom they should be accountable. This is an implicit issue, never made clear but demonstrated through the effects of entrepreneurial urban policy:

'*The tendency to manage town centres in a manner which gives priority to consumption, it is further argued, leads to the commodification and aestheticisation of space in which users are treated as a means rather than as ends in themselves...TCM...demonstrates a powerful tendency on the part of many local authorities of seeing users as consumers...this leads to the implementation of management policies and techniques that can only be regarded as a form of social control*' (Reeve 1996: 61)

In this context Reeve presents the role and perception of youth as a user demographic. The activity of youth, combined with the perception of young people (see 3.2) creates a demographic lacking the conceptual aesthetic (or visual style) that inspires 'confidence' from other users. Young people tend to linger or socialise engaging in low expenditure consumption linked to their collective distinctions (i.e. music, clothes and 'junk' food). There is a clear emphasis in this analysis on the perspective of youth as a potential problem or barrier to the renewal of the city centre – for example the perception of youth activity as problematic, even dangerous, and the tensions of young people as in danger from unpredictable strangers – this conflicts with the conceptual representation of the city centre as safe and orderly. The potential for

TCM/CCM to influence the tactics applied to the maintenance of order (arguably social control) is demonstrated explicitly by Reeve (1996). The forms of activity that have been prohibited or discouraged throughout the city centre by TCM/CCM's include; illegal street sales; begging; couples kissing; skateboarding and youth 'hanging out'. These sit amongst an extensive list of prioritised activities defined (table 1). Further groups of users were prioritised in relation to their consumer demographic (i.e. how much they spend in the city centre) and placed into a ranking of user groups by lifestyle (Reeve 1996: 70).

Though TCM groups have made overtures towards inclusion of minorities, even attempting to develop legitimate young peoples citizenship (Wooley 2000), the prevalent image of youth as a problem still appears to dominate the treatment of youth

Activities	Allowed (%)	Prohibited (%)	Encouraged (%)	Discouraged (%)
Begging	20	50	3	63
Busking	70	3	57	20
Cycling	63	13	43	20
Gay couples 'necking'	30	16	-	30
Leafleting	56	16	6	33
People playing taped music in the street	33	33	3	50
Political gatherings	50	16.7	6	26
Religious gatherings	60	6	13	20
Skateboarding	23	40	-	46
Straight couples 'necking'	40	13	26	73
Youth hanging out (not spending money)	40	13	3	50
Unlicensed street vending	3	80	23	76
Excess consumption of alcohol	13	60	60	40

Table 1. Percentages of town centre managers allowing/prohibiting, discouraging/encouraging particular activities and behaviour (100%=35) (Reeve 1996: 71)

subaltern cultural tribes in the city centre (Worpole & Greenhalgh 1996; Worpole 1998; Toon 2000); visible in the statistical treatment of youths hanging out (discouraged in 50%) and skateboarding (discouraged in 46%). The privately managed city centre appears controlled to the point that '*inappropriate*' behaviour is simply '*managed out*' (Reeve 1996: 74-75) or '*designed out*' (White 1996) of public space.

The Voluntary and Community Sector & Youth Participation: Bridging gaps or ticking boxes?

The VCS is a group that needs a tight definition. This is difficult to offer when it covers such a broad range of groups with such diverse agendas, remits and tactics of operation, membership and influence; covering an extremely wide range of issues. A concise definition is offered here:

'*The VCS refers to the area which is outside the government as well as the private commercial sectors, and is composed of citizens in non-government organizations (NGO) and non-profit organizations (NPO). As a result of increasing concerns about the lack of participatory democracy between citizens these days, the VCS's role is becoming more and more prominent, and is seen by many as the force keeping the other two... sectors in check.*' (Kim 2003)

BOX 1
Youth projects CASE STUDY

The crofts of East Manchester

A sense of ownership is clearly seen in the many community garden and playground projects developed by Groundwork Manchester such as the New Century family Garden, a beautiful and secure garden serving the rear of four terraced streets in Openshaw, East Manchester.

Prior to groundwork's involvement, this rear public area, or 'croft' as they are known locally, was an asphalted area for clothes drying, but was subject to constant fly-tipping and anti-social behaviour.

The entrance alleys were all closed by legal process, and gates were installed, so that access was only available to the residents of the four streets. The area became in effect an inner courtyard.

The designs were drawn up by Groundwork staff and local residents and the scheme only went ahead once the residents had agreed to take on the responsibility for its maintenance and upkeep.

A similar project was undertaken with the Chinley Avenue and Triangle community gardens in North Manchester, an especially fine example of high quality design in the city.

(Worpole 2003: 21)

In relation to youth there are several key groups that lobby in defence of young people and their 'right to the city'. The National Youth Agency (NYA) and the Local Government Association (LGA) coordinated the development of the 'hear by right' operating standards for the inclusion of young people in local democracy in line with the 'European Charter on the Rights of the Child', to which the UK has subscribed.

Despite this commitment to increasing youth participation over recent years there has been, by contrast, a marked increase in the legislation of youth behaviour.

The parental condescension implicit in such legislation was also apparent in the managerial approaches to youth subcultural movements in the 1980's, where moral panics over drug-use enflamed public opinion allowing the criminalisation of Acid-House and rave cultural events in the cities (Redhead 1997), and the near criminalisation of new age travellers in many rural areas (Hetherington 1998). Under the guise of urban renaissance this can be seen to connect to not only the wider perception of use in public space but also the manner in which young people are included in the democratic process.

BOX 2
Youth projects CASE STUDY

Young Persons Council in Hastings

Hastings is one of 88 neighbourhood Renewal fund areas, and is one which has targeted the needs of young people. It has established a Young Persons Council, in which around 30 young people aged from 13 to 25 meet regularly with council officers and the boroughs chief executive to discuss how best to create a better environment for the younger age group in the town. One of their finest projects was a skateboard park – one designed according to specifications drawn up by the skateboarders themselves rather than one bought of the shelf by council officers, This opened in August 2001.

(Worpole 2003: 21)

Attempts to include young people by local government, has often been focused on specific short term projects or on the set-up of youth parliaments, often - but not universally - lacking the subsequent support to maintain both a financial commitment to these endeavours or the necessary support infrastructure to maintain them over time. This is due in part to the highly transitional period of the life-course young people represent. Youth will, inevitably, always grow up and move on.

This causes problems for local councils in the long term, though short term projects have met with variable success. Some of these are recounted by Ken Worpole in his work with DEMOS on youth and public space (See BOXES 1 & 2). Ironically not all of these projects actively involved young people in the operation of the project, merely liaised with parents about youth interests or provided the type of garden spaces which, if publicly accessible young people will often be limited from playing ball games, ridding bicycles and play of any form that disturbs other users of the area.

Due to the problems of sustaining groups, such as youth councils, beyond the initial instigation of the body the success of these democratic bodies is variable. If support can be maintained by Local Authorities and the proposals brought forth were developed this *could* be a significant move towards more meaningful participation by young people, in the management of youth needs. However, it is predicated upon the responsible application of the young people's opinion by the managerial representatives. When limited by budgetary concerns and the muddled perception of young people inherent in these institutions (see chapter 3) this has not always been the case in the application of strategies, policies and tactics *in situ*[7].

Developing the Interplay of Power, Policy and Participation

Conceived space has been presented theoretically as 'representations of space'. These have become the domain of the urban managers, designers and political decision makers (chapter 1.2). Further, this has been focussed on the contemporary city centre and shown as the domain of new managerial institutions, such as CCM's and URCs, and private stakeholder partners. Developing this interplay of policy and practice in the light of intermediary actors it is useful to visit the definition of public space developed in the Urban White Paper. The Urban White Paper states that public space must be:

'*somewhere to relax and enjoy the urban experience, a venue for a range of different activities, from outdoor eating to street entertainment; from sport and play to a venue for civic or political functions; and most importantly of all as a place for walking and sitting out*' (D.E.T.R 1999: 57 cited in; Amin et al. 2000)

This definition significantly defines public space through the uses to which it is put, flagging up '*walking and sitting out*' as '*the most important of all*' activities. However with the emphasis on the production of detailed design-led plans the rhetoric emphasis on '*recognising the social and physical context*' (D.E.T.R 1999: 71) is focussed on the production of a document describing this, rather than understanding the lived anthropological '*phenomenology of the street*' (Kusenbach 2003).

It implicitly stresses that the key principles of urban design need to focus on mixed uses where '*Careful planning, design and siting can be used to resolve potential conflicts*' (D.E.T.R 1999: 72), but fails to state what these conflicts may be when manifest. In the city centre where tensions exists between the powerful business community (as stakeholders), and the transitional user groups or residents moving into and out of the city centre (as citizens) the economic imperative appears to dictate the thematic emphasis of local regeneration strategies continuing to privilege consumption. This is echoed implicitly in the new Planning Policy Statement 1 (PPS1) in the chronological categorisation of themes where economic is always privileged with the key emphasis (O.D.P.M 2004b), and as the primary concern of the broader policy.

'*Effective engagement and participation by local people, groups and businesses, especially in the planning, design and long-term stewardship of their community, and an active voluntary and community sector*' (O.D.P.M 2004d)

These are essential factors for community sustainability. However, when key actions are set up and discussed community involvement is not clearly in evidence behind the mass economic and bureaucratic reforms, again privileging the input of Local Strategic Partnerships as stakeholders over that of street-level citizens.

Muir develops these tensions in an assessment of public participation in urban regeneration in both Irish States (2004). Key tensions to emerge from this approach to public participation were linked to power at *micro*, *meso*, and *macro* scales of governance (Muir 2004: 951). Using Lukes' framework (1974) the suggestion is that observable practices of decision-making operate on the '*mobilisation of bias*' within a tightly controlled agenda, thus reproducing the dominant values within the top-down -

or *macro* - conceptual space of specific regeneration projects; as such, the problematic minority concerns are shunted into the background during such participatory consultations that occur (Muir 2004: 952). Extending this discussion to the *micro* and *meso* levels, informal networked interactions are thus predicated upon an implicit conceptual consensus amongst agencies of management:

'*Networks have increased in number and importance as part of the move from government to governance through the widening of the number and types of agencies involved in the administration of state-sponsored initiatives [...]*' (Muir 2004: 952)

This network of associated interests underpins the *micro* and *meso* levels of interplay between actors engaged with the practices of operating a participatory democracy, but is nevertheless informed from the top-down by '*coalitions of the elected, business and other pressure organisations... includ[ing] important bureaucratic groups*' (Dowding 2001 cited in Muir 2004: 953)

Muir further suggests that this represents the '*regime of accumulation*' around '*the organisation of production, management, and consumption to create surplus value.*' (Muir 2002: 953) Such processes of power applied to participation can be seen in to different extents in many reappraisals of modern democratic hegemony discussed in this research thus far[8], and as such be assessed carefully. Questions over the legitimacy of inclusion highlights the need for a better understanding of the role of participation in governance, and demonstrates the need for a new appraisal of the impact of participation on decision-making in real terms (Burton 2004). At this stage it is sufficient to raise these tensions for discussion in line with an overview of the role participation plays, specifically affecting young people, in urban renaissance rhetoric and strategic policy.

Urban Renaissance, Strategy & Tactics: A Networked Regime in the Spatial Management of Youth?

The rhetorical emphasis on open democratic public spaces is clearly distinct from the perceived necessity for a clean, safe and economically productive environment in the city centre. The only significant condescension towards managing youth space in the

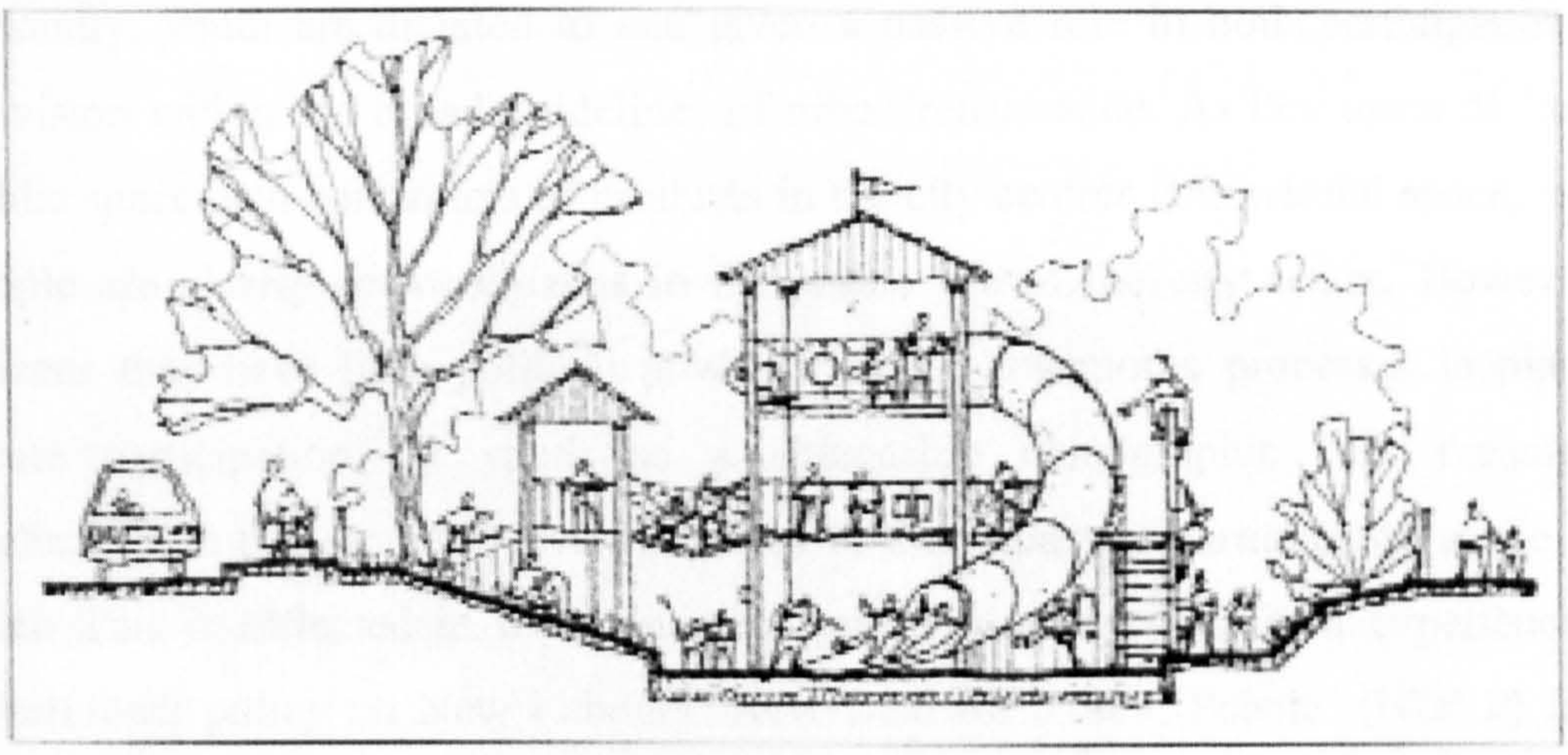


Figure 5. '*Managing Childrens Space*'
Concession to youth spatial management in the Towards an Urban Renaissance White Paper (D.E.T.R 1999: 117)

Urban White Paper is a small cartoon of a park (Figure 5). When this is paralleled with the contradictory understandings of youth as 'risky' and 'at risk' as users of public space the key actions undertaken in public spaces under the guise of urban renaissance become explicit.

'*Urban Renaissance*' suggests an approach to public space that creates a defined typology of provision, though this is not made explicit but manifest through local interpretations of 'Community Strategy'. In a policy where young people are linked to employment transitions, homelessness and poverty[9] there is a distinct lack of an inclusive and participatory spatial awareness of youth. Young people are included as an action group in urban renaissance policy; however they are less than central to the framework implied by urban renaissance and generally linked to a somewhat problematic understanding of provision.

First, urban renaissance offers a conceptual representation of youth, youth use-value and youth spaces that is conceptually prescriptive with a focus on legitimate 'play' spaces and activities therein seen as appropriate for the 'child'. Such notions implicitly limit the spatial autonomy of youth garnered from engaging with a disorderly urban public space (Cloke & Jones 2005).

Secondly, youth are dictated to and given a passive role in both participation and provision within the broad guidelines of urban renaissance. As key users of liminal public space, and consumers of products in the city centres commercial space, young people are clearly active citizens in the public life of the city centre. However as citizens they have little political power, thus the hegemonic processes in place to create participation by youth as a citizenship demographic lack meaningful application at this strategic level; reflected in the impact of participation at the local level. This is reflected in work on employment transitions as lived experiences of government policy on New Labours 'New Deal for Young People' (NDYP) in the context of global pressures on policy frameworks. Fergusson (2002) shows that the conceptualisation of young people in policy is lacking a broader understanding of the fragmented transitions of young people, that it is here argued is reflected across other policies such as urban renaissance:

'*It is not merely that the wider European conception of social exclusion is overlooked: considerations of citizenship rights, social solidarity, mutuality and the embedded social relations which affect cohesion are certainly not addressed by NDYP*' (Ferguson 2002: 188)

The activity of young people represents an autonomous use of space; yet despite this there is a lack of an inclusive awareness in the structure of participation targeted towards this group of either the relevance of young people's opinions in consultation, or in the validity of their citizenship. As such few concessions are made towards the transitional growth of children into adolescents and young adults in spatial provision[10], as the spaces in which these demographics thrive are often marginal, liminal and targeted as potential regeneration areas with high potential for commercial and economic growth. It can be argued that this economic growth is privileged higher than young people's rights of access in the interpretation of urban renaissance as a program of urban economic growth at the local level (see chapters 7-10).

Thirdly, participation in policy generation can thus arguably be seen as an extension of or indeed reflection of the normative moral code inherent in spatial production[11]. It appears possible in this respect that the rules implicit in the *nous* of spatial practice

underpin both the management and use of space by operating as an implicit guideline where no other reference is available in strategic policy (as the conceived space of strategic representation), thus the given moral landscape underpins the production of conceptual representations of children, young people and the appropriate spaces and activities in strategic provision. This implicit moral prescription increasingly underpins the policies of New labour in community driven urban policy (Cooper 1998: 470).

As noted earlier by Muir (see 3.1) participation is hegemonic project in democratic capitalism, and the redefinition of these systems of negotiation have wider connotations for the operation of governance and the meaning of citizenship. A further two key issues arise from these tensions with regard to spatial policy and the practice of youth participation. This moralistic shift from the New Urban Left to the New Labour's urban renaissance is a move away from an identity oriented policy to a an activity oriented policy, inherently prescriptive of appropriate activities and uses in specific typologies of urban space:

'*Their concern with the interests of the 'respectable majority' produced a spatial politics that interpreted non-belonging uses as nuisance*' (Cooper 1998: 471)

Within this approach youth identities and transitional lifestyles have dropped out of the central focus of policy with a concurrent malaise in the importance of youth participation, albeit this varies between Local Authorities. However, it is reinforced through the normative concepts of community demography that '*rely on established (but often discredited) discourses [...]*' (McWillimas 2004: 267) particularly dependant on traditional concepts of the socially excluded. As such these notions and practices privilege the inclusion of extreme fringe groups – the homeless, the poverty stricken, the ethnic, the disabled – but effectively omit a wide range of valid young citizens from meaningful participation.

If this is so then the enactment of strategy must be seen as a multi-levelled dynamic process of hegemonic negotiation, and in some cases the lack thereof, between different sub-groups and/or cultural demographics. It may even be possible for individuals to reside at multiple levels of this systemic negotiation simultaneously[12],

depending on the aspect of their actions and self-identity currently in operation moment to moment as they connect with different sub-groups. In this way policy generation is based upon a wider stream of influences than simply the best interests of the people, economy, or nation. It is in fact the composite of all of these things and more, this offers a glimpse of the complexity of the operation:

'*Government relates to what states do via their laws, police, schools, courts, armies etc. Much of it concerns the every-day work of experts like teachers, parents, youth workers, religious, medicos, journalists. Government can refer to issues or problems such as law and order, health or even a declining economy. Much of the regulatory activity relates to books, journals, newspapers, professional advice all of which provide advice on what standards, rules, etc., use to guide life around activities such as being a good citizen, having babies, finding employment, or being healthy. In short government involves the use of knowledge, habits of thought to facilitate and authorise some people to govern others (and themselves) (Minson 1993).*' (Bessant 2003: 90)

In this context the processes of managing space begins to fit the supposition that 'in order in include everyone, someone must be excluded'. It is entrepreneurial tactics such as the categorical demarcation of demographics, discussed in relation to CCM above, that show the limitations of this policy agenda when the moral landscape defines distinct groups in terms of 'problems' and 'solutions':

'*It entails a loose amalgam of objectives which typically target groups like 'the poor', 'criminals' and 'youth'. In the case of 'youth' techniques of social investigation (i.e. empirical and social scientific surveys) and an array of policies, institutions and practices focus on young peoples 'need for' constant care, control and improvements. Youth participation as described in recent youth policy documents is a strategy for extending the management of young people rather than improving opportunities for their participation*' (Bessant 2003: 91)

The culturally grounded perceptions of youth as a problem (see 3.2) are institutionalised within this rhetoric (Kelly 2003). At a more practical level the participation of young people seems to function as a tool for their control whilst

maintaining the illusion of a program of participatory improvement. This would suggest that it is more important for the agenda to succeed than for the difficult minutiae of the problems inherent in larger strategic concepts of urban renaissance to be addressed holistically:

'*Youth participation in its current policy form excludes democratic participation and is restricted to a narrow definition of participation as involvement in community, cultural, voluntary and educational activities*' (Bessant 2003)

In this form young people are not able to affect realisable and recognisable change within the organising framework of urban renaissance and will remain marginalised as a group affected by the political agenda and unable to meaningfully participate in decision-making. This is not an explicit exclusion of youth but a culturally grounded institutional disregard of the potential benefits of youth opinions and abilities. It allows, specifically in the UK context, for youth participation to be cast in the light of involvement in the decision making process, but, for that involvement to be limited in its ability to affect change. It is thus possible for young people to be involved in the process through consultation but for these consultations to be limited in budget to meeting the loose requirements of broader charters. The significance of input from young citizens is sidelined, thus consultation and participation in this policy framework is in effect 'lip-service' with no significant impact in real terms (see Bessant 2003: 94-96). The question thus remains:

Can managerial and security institutions view and address the tensions between allowing young people to exercise their democratic rights of access, assembly and participation and the risk that the presence of these groups will act to deter or antagonise the presence of other users, particularly shoppers?

4.2 Dangerous youth & location based identities: What's the Problem with Youth?

It is a contention in this research that the marginalisation of young people from democratic process is reflected in the attempts of managers to create a networked urban renaissance across urban public space, in which young people have no significant role. In fact they are actively marginalised from both urban public spaces and the decision-making processes that dictate its management. I have attempted to show first that the complex production of space is a realisable aspect of urban life (2.1), that tensions in managerial approaches to the urban renaissance have become widespread (2.2), that young people are poorly integrated into research in this field (3.1) and where they are acknowledged they fit into models of transgression (theoretical and actual) that lead to further marginalisation (3.2). In this chapter I have tried to demonstrate that there is another tier to management in terms of policy. This encompasses new managerial institutions and highlights the position of youth in political strategies at the national, regional and local level (4.1). What remains, before the empirical work can demonstrate these issues in a fine-grained case study of Newcastle upon Tyne (chapter 6-9), is to highlight in depth the connections of youth to the spaces they use; thus bringing the perception of them by other key subgroups and individual actors together. Also here some of the key tactics used in youth management 'on the street' need to be developed in more detail. This develops another set of tensions specifically referring to CCTV literatures but it can also be seen to develop throughout the cycle of urban decline and regeneration discussed above.

Excluding Youth: Managing Tactics of Surveillance & Perceptions of Disorder

In chapter 2.2 I made reference to the fact that there is no clear distinction in the policy or practice of maintaining public space between serious, violent personal and property crime and lesser criminality such as loitering, littering, and other such 'public nuisances', or '*transgressions of the public order*' (Williams & Johnstone

2000: 190). But we have also stated in chapter 3.2 that there is '*a logic to transgression*' (Hebdige 1988: 17-18) in youth cultures tribal activities and identities.

Young people's right to express themselves as individuals and as a distinct collective is synonymous with testing the boundaries of public civility and morality during the transition to adulthood. At the same time youth activities and identity construction can be portrayed as problematic to the commercially driven aesthetic imperative implicit within contemporary strategies for urban renaissance and thus the maintenance of public order.

20th century tactical responses to youth have been primarily legislative, growing from factors such as; as the public perceptions of youth criminality (James & Jenks 1996), the continual moral panic over the demonisation of youth and youth culture (Valentine 1996) and the rise of the private security industry (Slapper 1993). The importance of how youth activity is linked to disorder; and how this disorderly conduct is perceived, monitored and controlled is another pivotal aspect of interplay in spatial production.

Tensions brought forth can be played out through the model of spatial production. The liminal nature of each interpretation of the codified moral landscape requires that any interaction, whatever its format informs the nature and understanding of space, reflexively engaging with the morality of the users through time, moment to moment. This includes the conceptual understanding of space as it is enforced through maintenance strategies; an example of changing maintenance strategies is the widespread use of CCTV.

When the city centre and public spaces are surveilled the perception of disorder becomes a central issue in negotiating appropriateness in city centre public space. I have discussed how the 'precautionary principle' underpinning the perception of youth has become institutionalised in design-led strategies (3.2), however as shown above the urban renaissance is one element of a wider problem with the spatial management of young people (4.1). The managerial machine is caught between the youth they seek to include and the youth they need to control. One example of an arena in which this is played out is in the application of CCTV in public spaces.

Norris and Armstrong link tensions in this particular field to tactical practices of control in the '*maximum surveillance society*' (1999: 119-122).

The onus in this approach is placed on a number of factors[13] but none is more important than the operators of a CCTV system. McCahill (2000) looks at the ethnographic interpretation of surveillance operators offering a bottom-up interpretation of the role of observation (conflated here with perception[14]) in shopping malls, and how this implicitly affects the experience of space without the acknowledgement of the participants being surveilled. This brings the exclusion of '*flawed consumers*' forward by assessing the social construction of suspicion in the operation of the cameras 'backstage' in two unnamed shopping malls. Of most interest in this context is the treatment of young people in the appropriately entitled City Centre Mall:

'*As we saw in City Centre Mall, the exclusionary potential of CCTV is enormous. The main preoccupation of the security personnel at City Centre Mall was with behaviour that disrupted the commercial image, and in particular with the behaviour of groups of youths that were not shopping. More than four out of ten (43%) of teenagers who were deployed against were ejected from the shopping centre, and the influence of age was shown to be compounded by being part of a group.*' (McCahill 2000: 195)

As demonstrated by the table (Table 2) CCTV strategies were in this case seen to clearly exclude collectively distinct youth groups when by applying a conceptually driven moral landscape; thus discriminating through their perception of youth which tactics are appropriate to apply towards this definition of disorder. The suggestion is that social exclusion can be enforced tactically through discriminatory spatial practice.

This is supported by other research such as Beck and Willis who found that: '*the general irritation appeared to be as much a function of the fact that the youths were non-shoppers as of the assessment that they posed a threat*' (Beck & Willis 1995: 96 cited in McCahill 2000: 187). This treatment of youth as '*flawed consumers*' (ibid) demonstrates clearly how CCTV has potential to exclude young people through design-led policies which implicitly generate a legislative response to an aesthetically

		AGE		
		Teens	**Twenties**	**Thirties**
Was someone ejected?	**YES**	**43%**	**18%**	**0%**
	NO	**57%**	**82%**	**100%**
TOTAL		N=28	N=17	N=7

Table 2. Was someone ejected during a deployment by age of suspect?
Taken from McCahill (McCahill 2000: 191)

driven morality. As stated earlier in the contemporary commercial cultural planning and entrepreneurial management of public space in the city centre it is increasingly likely that the protection of the '*orderly flow of commerce*' (Flusty 1994: 10) has 'leaked out' of city centre 'cathedrals of consumption' into the streets, parks and plazas of the city centre (Fyfe & Bannister 1998; Jackson 1998), leading to legislation against 'anti-social' or even 'anti-consumer' behaviour in the city centre.

Various manifestations of this change in managerial tactics are; youth curfews (Collins & Kearns 2001), activity oriented bye-laws (Borden 2001b: 247-260) and other restrictive measurements such as Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) and Acceptable Behaviour Contracts (ABCs), used by local constabulary on repeat offenders and habitual criminals and legitimated by local courts (ACPO 1999). These tactics have at times been appropriated by new managerial institutions, for example the Holborn Business partnership (HBP) (a BID) was able get an ASBO granted against a repeat drug offender in Camden, London (Anon. 2002). In this case the use of this exclusionary policy appeared a justified penalty but these policies could easily be targeted at lesser forms of transgression in public space if the perception of anti-social and nuisance continue to be conflated with parental moral condescension and youth remain elided from policy generation. The blurring of distinctions between public and private is not only spatial it occurs in management institutions as well raising questions over the moral accountability of government tactics for controlling social order.

Such negative approaches to youth use of the city centre (Reeve 1996) reiterates the centrality of perception. How 'public nuisances' and 'social ills' are perceived become vital in the sphere of policy and social justice under commercially driven tactics or police force.

Perceived social transgressions are often poorly defined and conflated with criminal behaviour in crime and disorder strategies, arguably leading to the co-option of management techniques better suited to private 'non-statutory' policing agencies than to the civic policing appropriate to city centre public space (Reeve 1998: 70). This facilitates the imposition of a prescriptive conceptual space of consumption, and a particular version of a narrow codified morality, onto the urban public by new institutions of entrepreneurial management, such as the ATCM:

'*At a more pragmatic and empirical level the attitudes and practices of town centre and shopping centre managers is highly suggestive that there is a connection between social control, the imposition of a narrow set of values about who and what are appropriate in the public space of consumption, and the use of CCTV as both a monitoring tool and as a reassuringly discrete yet omnipresent instrument of surveillance*' (Reeve 1998: 71)

The activities generally affected by CCTV are quite often not the serious aspects of urban disorder and crime. Williams and Johnstone (2000) identify four categories of urban criminality, these are:

- **Predatory criminal activity** – fighting racial harassment, drug offences and actions that require direct control;
- **Actions preceding criminality** – the build up to a fight, a scene which 'could turn nasty', violent Drunk and Disorderly (D&D);
- **Technical criminality** – urinating in public, inoffensive public drunkenness such as obstruction;
- **Non-criminal 'unpleasant' activity** – drunkenness, littering, loitering, under-age smoking, 'disorderly behaviour'.

It is argued that the effectiveness of CCTV lies not in 'real' crime but in administrating '*very low level criminality*' (Williams & Johnstone 2000: 190-191) such as; begging or homelessness (Daly 1998), Drunk and Disorderly (D&D), more contemporary cultural pursuits such as skateboarding (Borden 2001b, 2001a) and / or 'hanging out' (loitering) (Reeve 1996). These are 'crimes' that are not *actual* crimes, but are frequently associated with youth groups as a form of 'petty disorder' (Loader et al. 1998: 388). Whoever gets to decide what represents a transgression requiring intervention and regulation of behaviour thus becomes central to understanding the skewing of the conceptual morality away from the lived interpretation of minority users in public space.

The processes and activities of subaltern cultural tribes have been widely disavowed by public and civic institutions, such as CCM, as dangerous and damaging to the urban environment or simply 'undesirable' (Reeve 1996; Flusty 2000), for example skating is seen by some as a truly oppositional subaltern youth culture and tribal pursuit. In many ways skating is a process of redefining and re-appropriating public spaces through a 'performative critique' of the architecture itself (Borden 2001a), sometimes to its detriment as many city centres and CCM organisations are lobbying for the criminalisation of the activity as an aspect of youth 'disorder':

'*'Disorder' in the form of untidiness rather than any real crime is what is being confronted here; in such circumstances skateboarding is one of those* 'false crimes' *used to help legitimise conventional orders and power, and consequently is legislated against to help validate the business and commodity oriented [entrepreneurial] city.*' (Borden 2001: 257, emphasis added)

A rise in the negative perception of the 'disorderly' practices has created a 'knee-jerk' response from urban managers, implicit in these design-led policies of urban regeneration into the designing out of these activities through a manipulation of the architecture, which limits the ability of these groups to engage the architecture for skating at all:

'*A different response by urban managers has been similar to their actions against the homeless. Where the homeless are ejected from business and retail areas by such*

measures as curved bus benches, window ledge spikes and doorway sprinkler systems, so skaters encounter rough textured surfaces, spikes and bumps added to handrails, blocks of concrete placed at the foot of basks, chains across ditches and steps, and new, unridable surfaces such as gravel and sand. Leicester council spent £10,000 making the banks around its crown court unskatable, while the Broadgate managers added vertical dividers to the Bishopsgate benches (a favourite place for board slides) in the summer of 1997.' (Borden 2001b: 254)

Ironically these 'anti-skating architectures' are likely, suppositionally, to increase loitering or 'hanging out' (depending on the perspective from which it is viewed) as a decrease in available appropriate spaces for skating will not discourage young people who do not skate from coming into city centre public space. It could also push skaters and other groups towards newer areas, whose design is frequently by its very contemporary nature a skate friendly or aesthetically pleasing environment which attracts youth groups, such as Gallery of Modern Art (GOMA) in Glasgow.

In Glasgow the local authorities realised that this group could not be displaced and attempted to reconcile the divisions between urban competitiveness (the gallery itself and the operators) and accessibility (for the young Goths, Rockers and Skaters) by putting on an exhibition of Goth fashion and style (Fotherington 2002). The issue of an aestheticisation of the codified moral landscape in response to the fear of youth, developed throughout the 20th century, threatens to exclude contemporary British youth from public space on no stronger premise than the fact that their presence makes *some* adults uncomfortable. An approach that in the Glaswegian efforts was, temporarily at least, redirected into a constructive mediation between these groups, as opposed to an unmitigated and outright ban of youth activity and youth 'tribal' gatherings.

This example represents an attempt to reconnect the design-led concepts of space with the use of that space by an 'other' in practice but is chaotic due to the complex nature of the negotiation process leading to the event itself. One way of simplifying these connections between these oscillating layers is described best again in the work of Lefebvre.

Abstract & Differential Spaces

Reconnecting the separation of conceptual representations of space from representational lived realities requires a return to Lefebvrian theory. Lefebvre discusses this separation as a problem difficult to solve through empirical investigation (Lefebvre 1974: 41-44), but also acknowledges the role of codified understandings, such as the normative moral landscape developed above, as central to the egalitarian operations of spatial production as a system of interplaying and overlapping perceptions, concepts and lived experiences:

'*The perceived-conceived-lived triad (in spatial terms: spatial practice, representations of space, representational spaces) loses all force if it is treated as an abstract 'model'... That the lived, conceived and perceived realms should be interconnected, so that the 'subject', the individual member of a given social group, may move from one to another without confusion – so much so that it is a logical necessity. Whether they do constitute a coherent whole is another matter. They do so probably only in favourable circumstances, when a common language, a consensus and a code can be established.*' (Lefebvre 1974: 40)

In this sense the visual representation of the production of space (see 2.1) is not an attempt to limit the multi-layered dynamism of spatial production, nor to reduce this system to a linear model, but to develop a comparative context for the application of systemic production, the normative coding of moral processes and the development of consensus as underpinning citizenship as well as notions of acceptability which are so central to the distinction of belonging in public.

In spatial production there are distinct similarities between the mental public realm, the social public sphere and the notion of public morality as constituent elements of '*Abstract space*', though even Lefebvre, as seen above, notes the difficulty in applying these to researchable contexts. Abstract space is thus given the ability to directly impact and define the surrounding physical geography, but it also is representative of all of the uncomfortable unpredictabilities of urban space that Lefebvre found difficult to explain cohesively in his conceptual triad (see figure 1 – pg.27).

Abstract space is a complicated concept in Lefebvre's work and has several different applications depending on which aspect of 'the production of space' is being used (Light & Smith 1998), and which discussion of abstract space is referred to (Lefebvre's discourse is notoriously convoluted and circular) (Dimendburg 1998)[15]. The key to the interpretation of abstract space is to isolate and explain the inconsistencies and unresolved discrepancies in each aspect of his debate and link them to a simpler analogical interpretation; however this is difficult without diluting the dynamic of their interplay. A simple way of looking at it is to parallel abstract space with the hyper-reality of symbolic markers in postmodernism, however the contradictions inherent in such a simple discourse are rife. As an element underpinning representational spaces it subsumes the historicity of space amidst a super-signification of its physical representational identity:

'*...monuments have a phallic aspect, towers exude arrogance, and the bureaucratic and political authoritarianism immanent to a repressive space is everywhere... The* representation of space, *in the thrall of knowledge and power, leaves only the narrowest leeway to the* representational spaces, *which are limited to works, images and memories...*' (Lefebvre 1974: 50)

Here it is made even more explicit that the representations of space are dominated by designs and conceptual visions of the appropriate and prescribed use-value; abstract space underpins the lived experience of the space through the interpretative reality of the physical architecture by users. However users are limited in the responses they can engage with due to the power and knowledge inherent in the representation. This is however where Lefebvre makes a brief, but noticeable, foray into the application of youth in the production of space:

'*Perhaps young children can live in a space of this kind...but adolescence perforce suffers from it, for it cannot discern its own reality therein...Inasmuch as adolescents are unable to challenge either the dominant systems imperious architecture or its deployment of signs, it is only by way of revolt that they have any prospect of recovering the world of differences – the natural, the sensory / sensual, sexuality and pleasure*' (ibid: 50)

The implicit ambiguity of Lefebvre's abstract space informs a diffuse understanding of its meaning in terms of its concise definition. It is manifest here as a collection of the natural, the sensory, the sexual and the pleasing in a symbolic sense, yet young people still fall prey to a limiting abstract reduction of youth activity to rebellion. By attributing a more sensory autonomy divorced from rebellion and grounded in transition then abstract applications of morality, perception, and the mental and social aspects of space can be combined reflexively. By engaging with this as a process we can begin to see how the reactive nature of perception is a singular moment within the production of public space - itself a multi-layered process in constant oscillation - which can influence the normative moral landscape (introduced above in epochal terms through Foucault). An understanding of use-values in the production of space, by unpacking this moment of reactive perception in relation to the performative critique of abstract space by youth tribal activity, thus creates a new space - a re-appropriated and 'differential space' collectively distinctive to the performers[16].

Differential spaces are inherent within abstract space, which as spaces of power are signified as manipulating the interpretations and activities of users (ibid: 51). However Lefebvre would likely disagree with my use of performative youth culture in interpreting potential spatial practices as he believed that semiotics could only be used in spaces already produced (1974: 160), thus ignoring the temporal reproduction of spaces as it occurs through time in order to keep the complexity of his discourse grounded. This can be seen in a different light through the lens of differential spaces, integrated into the ever complex production of space as a moment of reinvention and reification of creative meaning:

'*The abstract space of capitalism harbours many contradictions, not the least being the simultaneous dissolution of old relations and the generation of new relations; abstract space is thus destined not to last forever, and already contains within itself the birth of a new space – Lefebvre's putative differential space in which socio-spatial differences are emphasised and celebrated.*' (Borden 2001a: 179)

In this sense differential spaces are the spaces of reappropriation from which are born the use-values of youth. This is the space in which reinvention of the prescriptive

abstract use-values are taken over and performatively reinvented by youth groups, such as skateboarders (Borden 2000, 2001b, 2001a). It is through differential spaces that both the separation of spatial understandings is stimulated and yet the dynamism of spatial production is maintained, this is one of many contradictions in the process.

Towards Location & Identities

Youth cultures in the city centre are inherently public in nature, as public spaces are frequently the only place where young people can find autonomous social time (Valentine et al. 1998: 7; Miles 2003: 151). The protracted experience of adolescence in comparison with the early twentieth century (Furlong & Cartmel 1997: 59-63) has added to the long-term development of these identities and experiences that can extend well beyond teenage years into the mid-20's and even 30's; as is often the case with skateboarders, some of whom have been performatively deconstructing space since the 1970's (Borden 2001b: 167-8) and even eventually professionally as a career (such as the legendary Tony Hawk). Skate is in this sense the juncture between theory and reality, but it must be noted that skating often survives the transition from childhood to adulthood as a central aspect of both identity and lifestyle for participants. Skating in public is shown here as redefining abstract space through counter-spatial practices as such it creates 'differential spaces':

'*...today is not only the downtown streets of New York, Washington, San Francisco and Philadelphia that are the most intense skate scenes, but also those of London, Prague, Melbourne, Mexico City and other cities worldwide. The new skateboarding sites are not private houses or suburban roads, hidden from public view, but university campuses, urban squares, public institutions and buildings, national theatres, and commercial office plazas, as well as the more quotidian spaces of streets, sidewalks, and car parks; they range from specific sites – such as, for example, the Annenberg Centre for Performing Arts in Philadelphia- to any parking lot or bus bench in any city world wide*' (Borden 2001a: 180)

In this way the everyday site that is public space has a lived meaning, grounded in lived experience. Borden implies that the skater is able to break down and redefine

this meaning to match the needs of the activity in which they are engaged. This represents a reappropriation of the conceptual meaning prescribed upon it by the rational processes of design and manufacture. Sensory interaction is a part of the experience of space; this acts as a connecting process between the defined conceptual understanding of the public and the use of it by the skater. The tension between these understandings is inherent in the interplay between mental and social relations and is created by differential reinventions of public space occurring both *in situ* and through design-led entrepreneurial regeneration. The normative moral code then becomes the second lens through which abstract space affects the production of space in Lefebvrian theory. It effectively underpins the representations and representational spaces and informs spatial practices by which people judge and react to difference in public space as a reflexive and dynamic interpretation of the differential spaces they are confronted with, and as differential spaces are in turn produced from within the abstract.

Key questions in addressing the perception based interplay of interests and spaces within the production of public space then become:

- To what extent are youth activities informed by values and norms of expression that deviate or transgress the normative moral code?
- Does the differential space of youth performative use-values conflict with the abstract use-value implicit in the representations of space produced by management?

From Theory to Empirical Action: What is needed in urban research?

Contemporary research into the public spaces of the city centres needs to acknowledge both the top-down-structural nature of contemporary planning and urban management and the bottom-up nature of individual urban lives and especially subaltern cultural lifestyles and tribal connections, but also those in key roles in the maintenance of space, social order and moral cohesion.

The first section of this thesis (2.1) attempted to demonstrate the nature of spatial production, and the practical construction of the public from a neutral point of view. In this respect I have tried to avoid involving politics or culture, simply looking at the operational processes and procedures involved in the interactions integral to an urban experience of the public.

Secondly (2.2), the entrepreneurialism of top-down urban management was addressed and the presentation of a particular vision of the city through its various schemes and strategies for economic and cultural growth. This conceptual city requires a regeneration of the urban public spaces to fit into the new vision of 'urban renaissance'. Here the post-industrial city is seen as renewable and a part of this is the widespread regeneration of public space in order to combat the perception of the city centre in decline. This regeneration of the cities public spaces is often an attempt by managerial institutions to push the city centre into a new conceptual mould, which in turn affects a particular format of public space. The connection is thus made between entrepreneurial management, public-private partnerships and the influence of the private sector in engineering a design for the city that can be closely linked to privatised shopping environments. All of the factors point towards a commercialisation of the managerial concept of what the public should be, in turn further blurring the distinctions between public and private spaces and the way in which they are then both managed and used.

The third section (3.1) tried to bring the top-down structural view closer to the gritty bottom-up approach for researching lived realities. First, however, the historical debate over youth cultures had to be introduced in order to contextualise the presentation of youth appropriately. This developed into a review of research into urban youth cultures linking different styles of research to spatial issues. By developing the spatial aspect of youth research through the semiotic framework of past research a strong emphasis was placed upon the importance of perception. This brought the classical and somewhat outdated concepts of youth culture from traditional cultural studies into a contemporary context and opened the role and application of youth culture in the city for reassessment. Redefining youth culture through the lens of fear, perception and crime, and the affect of this on their spatial practices in public space lays a solid groundwork for the understanding of youth as

collectively distinct minorities who engage with publicly grounded and interconnected 'location-based identities'. This interest in morality was deepened by integrating issues of epochal change to the public understanding of acceptability within the framework of urban decline and renaissance informed in turn by the perception of problem demographics, as one of which youth can be included due, amongst other factors, to external perceptions of delinquency (3.2).

In order for this interplay of processes to function there has to be connections between the debates, these connections have been developed in two ways. The first is by bringing in some other actors in the management of public space who do not sit neatly in any group (4.1). The connections made from the top-down between civic management, the private sector and young users of public space can thus be shown as solid processes occurring in real time. With this established some of the potential actions that may either protect or exclude youth, depending on the perception from which they are viewed, have also been introduced. The role of CCTV has been expanded looking at both the tactical elements of its application in public space and more ethnographic interpretations of its use through the subjective perspectives of surveillance operators. This serves as a high quality example that nothing is as simple as it appears in linking the concept, the perception and the reality of spatial production through a complex interplay; which is why some of the more difficult aspects of the production of space have been reintegrated into the narrative as a way of rounding off and connecting disparate themes (4.2).

These connections need to be unpacked empirically using a case study approach with a focus on a specific network of spaces. The ongoing conflict between managerial cultures of entrepreneurialism and the activities of subaltern cultural tribes can analogically be referred to as the battle for possession of city centre public space. This is the interplay between the production and the consumption of city centre commercial public space in my attempt to reconcile urban competitiveness with social exclusion.

This research aims to offer both a bottom up and top down perspective of management practices in public space. This approach to the new processes of urban management as an entrepreneurially 'conceived' space, and that of youth subaltern

cultural tribes as a differentially 'lived' space tries to demonstrate that the conceptual space of the managerial groups has in fact become commercial and because of this is becoming inherently undemocratic. The current project will also - through a reflexive engagement with good practice in a local governance, management and maintenance of city centre public spaces - attempt to suggest possible remedies for the displacement and dispersal of young people, if indeed any exists. There have been several questions pulled through the theory chapters so far, it helps to gather the main empirical questions at this point to clarify the research that follows; these are:

How do managerial and security institutions view and represent commercial public spaces in city cores?

Are the managerial representations of urban public space and commercially oriented interests linked through control and supply of the urban public in terms of strategic policy, design and tactical management?

How do the groups of young people who assemble in commercial public spaces in city cores view and experience this space in situ?

How are collectively distinct groups of young people and their activities perceived by other key actors in the production of space?

What pressures, practices and provisions do young people encounter from management and security organisations tasked with ensuring that the space realises its commercial and competitive potential?

How do managerial and security institutions view and address the tensions between allowing young people to exercise their democratic rights of access and assembly and the risk that the presence of these groups will act to deter or antagonise the presence of mainstream shoppers?

This chapter has tried to tie some of these issues together by focussing on the elements that lie between the clear cut groups and literatures already discussed. The aim of this is to begin to offer some connections between the production, management

and use of public space by elaborating upon the notion of interplay. This has been done by looking at practical examples of new managerial institutions and the state of youth policy in the UK. It has also done this by unpacking more abstract theoretical permutations of the production of space when it is reapplied to the framework set up throughout chapters 2 & 3. This middle-ground is relatively under researched, understandably given the opacity of this set of problems.

How do the practices of urban public space management and the practices of youth groups assembling in this space interact in practice over time?

It has been suggested that such interaction occurs over time through a system of processes integrating; the managerial design and redevelopment of public spaces in line with the entrepreneurial orientation of current strategic policies for urban regeneration, the reappropriation of the design-led conceptual use of these spaces creatively by youth for their own purposes, the sequenced moments of reactive perception that inform the treatment of youth by business and the public, and the connections of these groups to different parts of the managerial structural institution (which in turn informs the specific managerial tactics engendered by each subgroup in management). In this context the remaining issues to be explored through empirical research are:

How in practice can the democratic rights of young people be reconciled with the imperatives of commercial urban regeneration?

The initial supposition is that this urban policy structure of urban renaissance encourages the exclusion of many minority groups, and particularly seems focused on youth as a dangerous group to the 'orderly flow of commerce'. Youth uses of the public imply that they can be seen neither as resistant nor oppositional to capital but as a group that constitutes and reconstitutes stylistic and behavioural demographics into collectively distinct minorities. These 'tribal cultural identities' manifest through the reappropriations of not just commercial products and materials but in several instances through the reappropriations of space itself, thus allowing for the inclusion of 'behaviour' as 'activity' in the assessment of youth groups. Whether youth groups engender a passive use of space or if managers are intentionally attempting to displace

and disperse gatherings of young people are questions for the conclusions of this thesis. What is clear is that there are unresolved tensions in this relationship and that there is a need for the reconciliation of social exclusion and competitiveness in the strategic policies, managerial tactics and lived experiences of city centre public space.

Chapter 5.

THE PROCESS OF RESEARCH: STRATEGY & METHODS

It is a necessity in all forms of research, and particularly in the social sciences, that a certain amount of time must be dedicated to the methodological rigours of producing valid and good quality empirical data. Documentation of the methods used to collect empirical data, the rationale for the structuring of the data, potential problems in data collection and the appropriate resolutions of those problems must also be addressed in the construction of a quality thesis. These considerations are addressed below, specifically:

- The selection & development of a research strategy.
- The selection of appropriate methods to maximise the potential of the research.
- Problems, tensions that have emerged and connections between theory and empirical data.

5.1 Selecting the Research Strategy: Defining the Case Study

The driving structure and methodological tools used in any research is likely to be ordered through the rationale behind its research strategy. The design of such a strategy forms the base-line for the collection of data, sometimes over several years. So it is important to get this element of the research right from the beginning.

This research has unpacked the reflexive interaction between different social groups in different public spaces between 2000 and 2005. Each of these groups has a distinctly unique socio-cultural identity, ideology and thus lived experience of the city centre and its public spaces. This effectively creates a complex network of relationships to empirically research.

There are many tensions and problems that can spring from the distinct ideologies, semiotics / aesthetics awareness, and both active and passive approaches to public

spaces in the city centre; so an attempt has been made to separate methodological structure and data collection techniques from the epistemological and ontological suppositions developed in the theoretical discussion and research history presented thus far (chapters 2-4).

The research appeared from the beginning to have both explanatory and exploratory elements that would suit a case study strategy. Upon developing this idea the complexity of the research led to the development of a descriptive case study based in the UK in order to allow for the development of theoretical notions which were, at the time, typically American concerns in research on public space. Muddling through the variations of an appropriate strategy and methodology were thus key problems early in the development of the research. The need to link the data through the conceptual context of contemporary urban situations *in situ*, with an empirically grounded methodological framework (accepting lessons learned from previous research) was seen as a major challenge.

Why the Case Study?

Case studies are typically used to explore the tensions in social groups by defining their identities and activities and then unpacking the relationships of interplay between them at multiple levels of discourse (spatial, social, ideological, physical etc.). This shifts the focus of research from well defined institutions and structures to a more ethereal realm of tenuous contacts, hegemonic strategies and role-plays infinitely harder to isolate, define and unpack.

The selection of the case study as an approach was intended to help formulate an initial 'research strategy'. Through this strategy the methods for collecting good quality empirical data were refined. First, the case study is defined:

'*1. A Case Study is an empirical enquiry that*

- *Investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when*

- *The boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident*' (Yin – 1994: 1)

In this research the boundaries between context and phenomenon are frequently blurred[1]. As such, the case study strategy was developed to help create a dynamic framework for both the theoretical and the empirical body of the research. This definition helped to address initial concerns that the dynamic nature of the interplay to be studied was too complex for a singular case study strategy.

It could be said that *ALL* social science research deals with the specifics of studying cases (in different forms), then applying abstract theoretical models through those cases in an attempt to lend credence to the voracity of their academic conclusions. What Yin (1993; 1994) attempts to do is to separate this strategy from the specifics of historical research and more natural scientific methods, such as experiment oriented approaches, by setting the case study in the context of complex phenomenological investigation of contemporary 'real-life' research subjects; as a *strategy* in its own right rather than as a *method*. The case study therefore acts as the framework within which methods are applied, allowing for a number of different data collection techniques to be developed.

For example, a survey or questionnaire might form a part of a research strategy but be defined as a method for data collection. The case study as a research strategy gives more depth to the framework from which these methods can be hung to create a dynamic empirical data set with much more depth:

'*In other words the case study as a research strategy comprises an all-encompassing method – with the logic of design incorporating specific approaches to data collection and to data analysis. In this sense, the case study is not either a data collection tactic or merely a design feature alone (Stoecker - 1991) but a comprehensive research strategy.*' (Yin – 1994: 13)

5.2 Focusing the Case Study: Specifics of Research

It was decided that due to the expansive nature of the interplay being addressed in this research that there would have to be distinct and clear limitations on the scope and scale of the research. The best way of framing research questions (such as those raised in the introduction to this thesis) into a practical research strategy was to limit the variables being researched.

In order to achieve this, a geographically distinct area was chosen and the case variables were defined (e.g. the actors involved in this area, the architectural history of this area, the conceptual representations, perception based practices and lived experiences of this area). Furthermore, the management approaches to be investigated were divided into strategic policies (concept management / design) and operational or practical tactics (e.g. social order & physical maintenance), linking to the lived experiences (use and activity) of youth groups and growing from these initial variables the importance of perception (how the identities and activities of all actors are a dynamic variable in spatial production) as a connecting factor was brought forth. Within this framework the complexities of spatial production have been addressed through a targeted research sample of key actors and agencies.

Case Study Location

Originally it was intended to compare an analysis of two spaces using embedded multiple case studies. However it became clear that this was simply too expansive and the case became increasingly focused on Old Eldon Square (OES) as the natural centre of the network of public spaces in Newcastle city centre.

Old Eldon Square appeared to represent a pivotal public space and became the central unit of analysis in an *embedded single case design* (see Yin 1994: 42-43). To view Old Eldon Square as an isolated space, divorced from these other spatial factors and influences, is to ignore the dynamism of use and activity in the city centre *through* space, and it is this dynamic interplay that is focus of the research.

The geographical boundaries of this case study are then semi-permeable. The key youth subgroups or 'tribes' in OES became the main focus of this site specific case study; but to assume that young people use only OES, and not any other public space, is to ignore the dynamic network of public spaces throughout the city centre[2]. As such, the other public spaces become sub-units to the single case and the case is thus 'embedded' in the context of this network.

Equally the relationships between groups within the sample population were similar but distinct in different spaces throughout the city centre. The intention was not to uncritically map these relationships from the embedded case to its 'satellites' but to generate a line of best fit in the trajectory of urban renaissance in practice, assessing any potential social exclusion of the young that may emerge through these practices across this network. For example, the architectures may be unique in each public space; also the key actors affecting them from a commercial or civic standpoint may change. The interplay between groups can be compared by using the permeable framework of this embedded single case which defines these groups as sub-units of the wider interplay of spatial production as it occurs dynamically in space and through time across the city centre. It became necessary to extend the focus to encapsulate the more relevant sub-units - both social and spatial – incorporating activities and events that further demonstrate the socially exclusive trajectory of urban renaissance policies and practices outside of OES. This enabled a corroboration of assertions through the inclusion of key events in *other* spaces, and allows for a more dynamic and in-depth appreciation of the social groups and institutions, thus avoiding a 'socially deterministic' view of urban geography.

An analogy of the embedded singular case acting as a central focus point for several sub-groups or sub-cases to act as 'satellites' is presented below (Figure 6). These satellites are as important to the identity of the case study and the wider understanding of its position and relevance, as is the orbit of a planet around the sun to astronomers understanding of the solar system (and each orbiting moon to that planets trajectory). Each operates individually but all flow around each other in harmony, this is the design strategy of a good embedded single case.

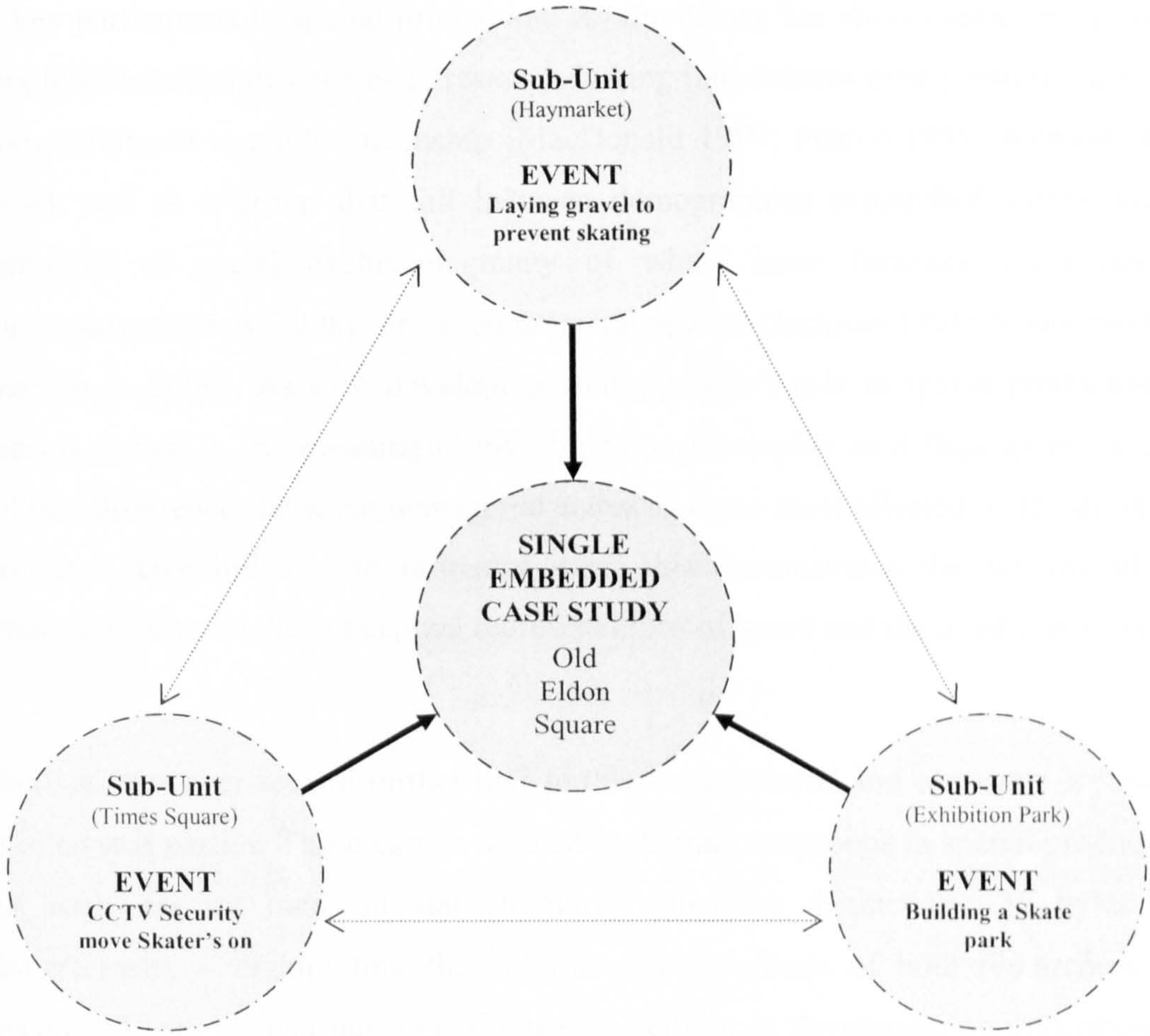


Figure 6. Example of how the Single Case is *embedded* in the events occurring in other spaces (as sub-units of the single case)

Case Study Population

The case studies have several social sub-groups which fall within this research in terms of research sample and population. Newcastle upon Tyne has a broad and diverse social diaspora from which to draw a sample frame for data collection. Despite this complex understanding of sub-units in social terms there were several key groups across boundaries of civic institutions, the voluntary and community sector, the private sector and the general public.

The contemporary political and social contexts, relating to Newcastle City Councils regenerative and economic plans for the city, and the effects of this on the populous

demand that *managerial actors* are included. Further, *youth groups* have been noted as key participants in spatial production. As the theory has shown (chapter 3) young people sit between discourses in research linking into debates over youth in transition from childhood to adult citizenship (MacDonald 1997; Pearce 1998; Webster et al. 2004), and as a group that fall between demographics researched within spatial appraisals of social exclusion, many of which have focussed on issues of homelessness (Daly 1998), or on commercial spaces (Jackson 1998; Vanderbeck & Johnson Jr. 2000). As such developing young people's role in spatial production as users is central to any meaningful investigation of interplay as it flags up the distinct cultural differences between managerial actors as those most affected by the decisions that they have little or no influence over; this demonstrates the severity of the separation between the conceptual representations of space and the lived experiences.

There are however several further tiers to this socio-cultural and economic separation of interested parties. These can be defined as distinct subgroups in spatial production, but each has its own internal structure, collective distinctions, lifestyles and idiosyncrasies – highlighting the cultural preconceptions of both researchers and researched (see 'insider/outsider' discussion below). In developing an understanding of interplay in spatial production the research population is limited to groups that have a direct relation to interplay of interests in the production of commercial public space in Newcastle upon Tyne. These can be broadly defined as:

- Those who have within the managerial institutions, a direct knowledge and role in the 'governance' of the key commercial public spaces in the city centre, with a view to reflection upon the policy makers. This group is particularly concerned with the *strategic policies* and plans developed within civic / civil government, such as the various directorates, sections and departments of Newcastle City Council (NCC).

- Those who are involved in the maintenance of the city centre. This can include physical maintenance in the organising and action of street cleaning and waste management; also this relates to the social and cultural agendas of managing order and disorder in the city centre. This can affect both visitors and inhabitants equally

as relates to their experience of the city centre and will be referred to primarily in terms of the *operational tactics* for maintenance of space (by Northumbria Police etc.), but also can be linked to wider strategic policy (national agendas for combating anti-social behaviour).

- Those whose interest in the city centre is primarily commercial and are representative of private business / commercial interest groups & companies. These are frequently relatively small businesses located within or adjacent to OES but commercial involvement is not exclusive to those retailers. The wider commercial management lobby is included through the role of this group as *stakeholders* in *public-private partnerships*.

- Those who are of a youthful age (loosely defined as between the age of 5 and 25) but focused on what can be loosely termed 'adolescents' engaged in the transition from childhood to adulthood. These are 'old children' and 'young adults' between the ages of 11 and 25. This focuses upon 3 specific youth lifestyles in the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne (chapter 8).

- Those who individuals and group actors that connect with more than one of these groups with a specific or implied remit of mediation. These function as *key intermediaries*. This linked to a number of agencies associated with youth concerns, forming the link between youth and management but these tensions are discussed in the empirical work (see chapter 9). It also includes newly emergent managerial institutions tasked with developing close connections with private sector and VCS or often charitable, non-statutory organisations.

The above list gives us a broad idea of who's interested in Old Eldon Square and who is being researched. However, each individual and each group have subtly different ideas as to what Old Eldon Square is and should be. The conflict, if any exists, is between these differing notions and this is where the really interesting elements of this research lie. So the next logical step is to develop these different approaches to research from the perspective of structural or 'top-down' understandings of society

and from more cultural ethnographic or 'bottom-up' views of research and research methodology. This gives a clear picture of who exactly is being researched.

Top Down: Management and Maintenance

Looking from the top of the management hierarchy down towards the users and the general public gives a management oriented view of the interplay of spatial production. The management of strategic policies, initiative driven spatial regeneration and the operational tactics of consultation and architectural maintenance cover a wide range of agencies and actors. These can range, as indicated above, from private security services to public protective institutions, from regional government to local services. The idea of interplay this thesis develops aims to include several levels of civil governance and maintenance sub-groups and sub-structures; such as:

- City Council Agents (e.g. Councillors, Officers & other civic agents),
- Private Security Agencies (e.g. Mall / Store guards, CCTV operators),
- Civil Security Agencies (e.g. City Centre Police Force)
- Key Intermediaries (e.g. Voluntary and Community Sector (VCS) agencies / newly emergent managerial actors and agencies / individual officers in government)

Bottom Up: Maintenance and Use / Consumption

When unpacking the operational tactics of spatial management from a street level perspective, or the bottom-up, this gives a different view of interplay. The tactics towards creating the appropriate use of commercial public space suggests possibilities for the creation of a much more exclusive urban environment, but this must be ratified by discussion with those on the front line of urban experience, in this case youth cultural groups or collectively distinct tribes (see chapter 3).

The processes of consultation are the key to understanding the importance of the bottom-up view of commercial public space. By accumulating the experiences of these groups the researcher is able to address issues suggested in the increasingly

critical urban literature and research. The suggestion in previous research is that urban renaissance disguises urban revanchism (Smith 1996); itself representing a move from a rhetoric of cultural regeneration to one of gentrified consumerism, privileging an unintentional yet *inherent* strategic policy based exclusion of minority lifestyles, enacted through operational tactics *in situ*, or at the level of experience 'on the street' (see chapter 4). It is with this in mind that this research seeks to develop a rigorous methodology for better understanding these tensions in practice. From this case the role of key intermediaries will also be addressed, as these have been overlooked in much other empirical research. As such this case study strategy uses both the top-down assessment of managers and the bottom-up analysis of lived experiences of the city centre.

5.3 Research Methods: Questions, Resources, Process & Analysis

The case study approach is used to help define the areas of study within a limited spatial framework of contemporary events. These contemporary events take place within a spatial context so they must be blended with archival and architectural histories of the specific spaces with which the research is concerned. The combination of this architectural and spatial dimension - through documentation, historical and archival resources - with a comparative investigation of tensions across social boundaries in the interpretation and control of space - the empirical research and theoretical analysis - means that the contemporary social and historical aspects of research can be cohesively addressed using a *case study strategy* and flexible and innovative *research methodology*.

The above discussion of this interdisciplinary case study strategy should help to contextualise some of the issues at hand. From a standpoint of methods in this form of case study meaning must be drawn from the 'voices' of the researched; as such methods that would allow for a reflexive '*dialogic interpretation*' (Denzin 2001: 158) of the data were chosen to allow the research to be pieced together, carefully highlighting the different layers of this complex web of interactions and interplay as elements of what has been referred to as '*street phenomenology*' (Kusenbach 2003).

Interpreting the Research Questions

Central to understanding the methodology of the study is the application of the research questions and the nature of the data to be extracted with a view to designing a methodology effective and appropriate for that end. This entails an unpacking of the research questions to see what kind of data in being collected in order to allow for thorough analysis, thus leading to empirically grounded conclusions. For example, are they in synch with the original idea of the research or hypothesis or are the findings in opposition to it? The general research questions in this case have many sub-levels that need to be involved, but streamlined as part of the wider narrative. Essentially this research is trying to find out:

- *What* differences are there between the concepts and perceptions of urban public space held by (city council / police) managerial institutions, (city centre) businesses and the (alternative youth) subcultural minorities?

- *How* do these differences manifest in both the *production & maintenance* of lived experience in urban public space?

These questions pose two main issues in response to the data that is to be collected, *what & how*, which as we have suggested above gives the research both exploratory and explanatory impetus:

- ***WHAT*** **– Exploratory research,** seeking to expose tensions in urban management practice and social inclusion of policies towards spatial control. As such a combination of survey techniques based around semi-structured interviews / surveys with key members of both groups aimed to build upon strengths of qualitative data analysis.

- ***HOW*** **– Explanatory research,** seeking to apply the substantive research data to qualify the validity of newly emergent strategic policies and management institutions. Further to this the effects of such policies as a lived experience for minority groups give a bottom-up view of this dynamic that complements the top-down managerial assessment.

For the complexities of these research questions to be successfully developed and the focus of the substantive and empirical questions to be maintained then a balance must be kept in the methodological structure; essentially combining adaptive flexibility with methodological rigour. If the unexpected occurs flexible cases will allow for redirection of the subject whilst maintaining the integrity of the study.

However, despite the desire to maintain flexible case studies, there is the issue of replicability from the standpoint of external validity. This is not as central in terms of a single case study, but as it is embedded within the context of several sub-units the

structure must acknowledge these dangers. The selection and design of methods for data collection is extensive in order to maintain both the sovereign centrality of the embedded case and the orbital reference to the sub-units when interpreting the data and maintaining the flexibility of the '*hermeneutical circle*' (Denzin 2001: 43).

Structured & Unstructured Approaches

The preference of the social scientist is often to use qualitative data to get closer to the experiences and the 'meat and bones' of opinions and feelings. These intimate details of concept, perception and experience give real depth to the understanding of interplay. The phenomenological considerations addressed above plus the preference for qualitative data collection suggests that an unstructured approach is likely to be more successful in this case:

'*Structured approaches can help ensure the comparability of data across sources and researchers and are thus particularly useful in answering variance questions, questions that deal with differences between things and their explanation. Unstructured approaches, in contrast, allow the researcher to focus on the particular phenomenon studied; they trade generalisability and comparability for internal validity and contextual understanding and are particularly useful in understanding the processes that led to specific outcomes...*' (Maxwell 1996)

The nature of this research is to unlock the idiosyncrasies of interplay behind the production of space as such to trade generalisability for a deeper contextual understanding of these processes is, in this case, entirely appropriate; and despite this assertion this research does have relevance in a wider social and urban context (see chapter 10). Spatial production and spatial use are at once oppositional and yet dialectically linked *processes*, to understand which the nature of the research design must be structured allowing for the extraction of comparable data across the cultural aspects of the case studies. The complex nature of the discourse requires a dynamic and synergic approach to the research design which incorporates elements of phenomenology and ethnography.

The details of the particular phenomena need to be teased from the respondents, so the methodology, whilst structured, must reflect a difficult to achieve flexibility in the use of selective data collection methods and reinforced with structural foundations (archival, literary) and cohesive data analysis.

Essentially this means that both of these traditions must be embraced in different aspects of the strategy and methodology through the embedded single case and dialogic interpretation of the data once it has been collected (Yin – 1994: 80).

Data Collection Techniques: Practice, Problems & Issues

In case study research there are several methods and data collection techniques, the most common of which are interviews. The interviews used in this research were based on a semi-structured format, mixing open-ended and focused questions in order to guide the respondent to the expert or personal knowledge held by them; this was conducted using subtle variations on a themed basic question set, with subject specific questions targeting areas of knowledge or experience appropriate to each interview. Taking place over a 3 year period (2001-2004); 40-55 in number[3] - ranging from 'vox-pop' styled street interviews to focus groups to more formal one-on-ones[4] - interviews covered all of the groups targeted by this research. Gaining access to the youth subcultures was relatively easy as they could be approached throughout the city centre *in situ*. Though the impending regeneration work has seen continual changes to the city centres public spaces this did not substantially affected access to youth groups during the data collection.

The case study as a research strategy is also useful in organisational research and management studies as aspects of this thesis, but there are key methodological concerns in relation to data collection in this context (Dopson 2003)[5]. Access to elites and data protection over sensitive research topics have not been as widely discussed in previous research as one might expect (Lee & Renzetti 1990; Lee 1993), and are often still discussed primarily in relation to crime or increasingly, terrorism (Coaffee 2003).

Access to the city council members was a concern, as this can be difficult for some social researchers (Raco 1999), but this has proved, at times, to be one of the most amenable groups to research given the excellent relationship between the University and Newcastle City Council; though access to some planning proposals had to be negotiated carefully and the format and context of any replication clearly demarcated. In these cases planning permissions, bye-laws, incident reports (and similar documents etc.) whilst at times difficult to procure have been accumulated with only minor inconvenience. As long as key individuals were approached respectfully few barriers emerged in access to governance personnel, and all the desired interviews were conducted; several key actors more than once.

The interviews with the managerial actors encompassed influential policy makers and where possible department heads, council officers within each relative directorate and officers working on key initiatives affecting the space and demographics with which the research is concerned, spatial control operatives (surveillance operatives, private security services, and Northumbria Police) and where possible the linkages to businesses have been supplied by both interviews with store operators (both on OES and nearby) and actors (third party & volunteer / charitable groups) as well as attendance at key panel meetings and steering groups. Some problems were encountered in relation to the data protection of criminal records and public access when linking into the incident reports held in police files. These sensitive research topics were negotiated with key gatekeepers when they occurred resulting in a satisfactory compromise in granting indirect access to some data, whilst other areas were clearly off-limits due to the rights to privacy inherent in the Data Protection Act. This had no detrimental affect upon the research but did limit the depth to which certain areas could be investigated and some key incidents attributed to a specific group (e.g. Goth, Charver / Chav, Skaters or others – see chapter 8.1).

The access to some less powerful groups (tensions noted above[6]) as a researcher is difficult, for this reason some participant observation was utilised in different ways. Overtly, stating to some respondents the reasons for the research was preferred but at times the role of the researcher was kept covert; such as where there was potential for violent conduct to erupt between collectively distinct youth groups[7]. This was necessary partially to protect the integrity of the research and partly to protect the

participants. There are some tensions in the participation of the researcher as an 'insider' with regard to objectivity, complacency and generalisation (Hodkinson 2005), but with regard to developing a 'hidden discourses' using ethnographic '*street phenomenology*', as Kusenbach suggests:

'*In short participant observation especially when done unobserved, is often characterised as the most authentic and reliable ethnographic method because it provides access to 'naturally' unfolding events and delivers 'volunteered' member informations*' (Kusenbach 2003: 461)

Facilitating this ethnographic data collection were a series of informal 'go-alongs', which facilitated data collection rather than driving the research. This technique was used at times to add a finer grain to the elements of experience related by participants, thus delving deeper into '*the spatial practices by which different places are linked together*' (Kusenbach 2003: 463). This helped to develop the spatial network surrounding Old Eldon Square (OES), as well as linking into participant observations described above.

A reflexive assessment of how the data collection techniques and location of the multiple sources of data are suited to the actions taken, allow for replicability to be maintained in most cases but in participant observation it is not possible to replicate the experience of participation, so grounded in context are the experiences noted; multiple sources such as observation were used as a grounded substantive backup to conclusions drawn across the full breadth of the data collection techniques used in this research (Table 3).

A Word on Sampling & Interviews

A generic snowball sample was used for penetrating the necessary research populations in the case study framework. Using the spatial frame of OES as a context setting variable I addressed through preliminary interviews, a snowball sampling technique of finding out who were key gatekeepers. These gatekeepers then gave insight into the coordination of strategic policies and operation tactics and the relevant personnel in their sphere of knowledge. This then developed with successive

interviews further connections into other key actors; effectively developing a framework of management processes through which the actual activities and opinions of these key actors could be threaded.

The idea here was to develop the sample of people whose main concerns and actions over the research period were affecting the conceptual redefinition of what space is and is used for, and linked to the practical management of public space at the ground level of lived experience. By using a snowball method I was able to access the actual processes of governance and see deeper into the successes and shortcomings of the system as it functions *in situ*.

Several of the interviewees were interviewed on more than one occasion. Follow up interviews were conducted wherever possible over time and several points of clarification have been made through both telephone and e-mail conversations when analysis fails to offer a clear depiction of a situation (though this is primarily in relation to the ever shifting council structure and position titles).

Similar strategies were operationalised in relation to the youth interviews. A focused period of time was spent in and around the key areas being studied and a participatory activity pattern afforded many opportunities to watch the interaction of youths with each other businesses and on occasions the local police. These observational periods were compiled alongside a wide range of interviews with youth in and around OES, photographic evidence of youth activity throughout the city centre and a flexible approach to data collection that reflected the variable availability and cooperation of the population being interviewed.

With members of the business community a number of techniques were applied these included letters of introduction detailing the nature of the research followed by selective interviewing of a range of the local shops on OES, the management of the Eldon Square mall and private security operatives in and around commercial and pseudo-public spaces in the city centre. A range of techniques was used here also including formal semi-structured interviews, telephone interviews and informal meetings and discussions around policy documents and codes of practice. Combined these give a deep body of evidence that covers most of the aspects this research

wished to address and several that I had not thought of previous to the data collection period[8].

Insiders, Outsiders and Positionality

The question of my position as a researcher in accessing some of the groups has been raised on several occasions whilst conducting this research. As a regular and long time participant in the UK Goth and Rock scenes I was in a unique position to use this knowledge to become 'a critical insider' (Hodkinson 2002: 4-6). This specialised knowledge meant that access to, and conversations with, many of the Skate, Goth and Rock music oriented sub-groups was easier than for a researcher who appeared through demeanour and dress as separate and distinct from them. My knowledge of the Goth and Rock scene (e.g. other people and places within the North-East) created a more fluid discussion on cultural and identity issues and put these interviewees on a more comfortable footing:

'*Of course, first and foremost, successful interviews with young people require a variety of generic techniques. In the case of my interviews with Goths, careful choice of venue, friendly conversational tones, sympathetic responses, probing and offering sets of alternatives were of particular value*' (Hodkinson 2005: 139)

Equally, the position of the researcher as an 'outsider' from a managerial perspective may be interpreted as having elicited certain responses in interviews targeting organisations and managerial representatives (Dopson 2003). If the appearance of the researcher thus dictates that responses are tainted by preconceived notions of individual respondents (i.e. them changing their opinion to suit what they feel I may be looking for) then the qualitative method and interview structure is called into question. Open ended questions and themed interviews were held in the 'home' setting of each organisational representative to counter this danger, again engaging with the respondents in a setting comfortable and familiar to them in order to assist in breaking down any preconceived boundaries between the researcher and the researched. This kind of activity must be critically focused or other problems arise, such as the uncritical mapping of respondent's experiences or the overestimation of truth in their accounts. Many interviews with youths had to be disregarded on

reflection as they were using the exercise as an excuse for posturing, bravado and horse-play (which is indicative of the group in other ways).

Whilst in Hodkinson's research (2002) the ability to act as an insider through ones self-identification was a clear and formidable asset, in this research it also limited access to some groups, such as the Charver's. In this case the outward identity of the researcher had to be oriented differently to gain access to the group, which proved difficult and raised ethical questions. As stated:

'*In the case of youth cultures, those seeking to immerse themselves must be conscious of the risk they may raise rather than reduce barriers to access due to a tendency in some such groups for particular suspicion of inauthentic participants*' (Hodkinson 2005: 137)

By engaging a range of tactics for interviewing 'hostile' groups some attempts to access this group were successful; this is reflected in both the range and depth of connections between youths and made clear the importance of gatekeepers in accessing minority groups; but it also accounts for the higher than usual quantity of data garnered from online resources used to reflect attitudes of young people in support of qualitative interview data[9].

Carefully phrased reflections on the responses *in situ* and cross referencing perceptions of the same key events from the perspectives of key actors helps to create this overall picture of differences and similarities in the wider understanding of both the space and its users. The online resources relating to youth groups were linked more to self-perception debates and developing tensions between these groups in a discursive space, as offered by online message boards. Tensions between these group arising from differences which can be clarified from such content requires careful access and management of how the researcher is seen within the wider project by the researched. The position of the researcher is thence vital to the integrity of the research as well as to the ability to gather quality empirical evidence.

It is important to acknowledge that the views of each group researched represents only a singular set of circumstances and specific knowledge grounded within the

context of Newcastle and the specific public sites with which this research has engaged. The views represented here are not totalising discourses nor are these exhaustive ethnographies of every detail in youth or management culture. The links of the researcher to the youth groups does not imply any specialist knowledge that other researchers cannot achieve or attain. Where this research is set apart from other projects that assess public space, renaissance policy or youth culture is the emphasis on interplay between cultures, and also lifestyles. As suggested by Steven Miles;

'*The irony of social life in general is regardless of long-term change people feel social change in the present. The task for the sociologist is therefore to construct reflexive focussed studies of the sociological present in which meanings that people apply to everyday contexts are actively addressed*' (Miles 2000: 160)

This research develops the tensions in this proposition further showing tensions between the managerial and lived realities of spaces and events as a connection of multiple levels oscillating and reacting to each other reflexively within the present as an empirical sociological moment. The use of 'insider' knowledge in this context has been harnessed to aid in the development of themes throughout the research. A s a result the lived experiences of young people are integrated into a dynamic strategic research framework combining this bottom-up view of ethnographic methods with top-down reviews of strategic policy and managerial structure and action, as Hodkinson reminds us, there are benefits to harnessing such experience as a researcher but the end goal is about the benefits to the process of research:

'*Crucially, however, the securing of such benefits is at least as dependant on the 'researcher' element of this dual identity as the 'insider' element. Insider researchers, then, must utilise a careful reflexive research approach to ensure that any potential benefits of their initial proximity are realised without the emergence of significant difficulties*' (Hodkinson 2005: 146)

Source of Evidence	Strengths	Weaknesses	Examples
Documentation	Stable – can be reviewed repeatedly Unobtrusive - not created as a result of the case study Exact – contains exact names, references, and details of an event Broad coverage – long span of time, many events, and many settings	Retrievability – can be low Biased selectivity, if collection is incomplete Reporting bias – reflects (unknown) bias of the author Access - may be deliberately blocked	*City Centre Action Plan 1999-2000* *City Centre Action Plan 2001-2002* *Towards an Urban Renaissance* *Urban White Paper*
Archival Records	*[Same as above for documentation]* Precise and quantitative	*[Same as above for documentation]* Accessibility due to privacy reasons	*Council meeting minutes* *Cartographic maps of urban development*
Interviews	Targeted – focuses directly on case study topic Insightful – provides perceived causal influences	Bias due to poorly constructed questions Response bias Inaccuracies due to poor recall Reflexivity – interviewee gives what interviewer wants to hear	*Pilot case – youth interviews* *Prospective council (TCM, etc.) interviews*
Direct Observations	Reality – covers events in real time Contextual – covers context of event	Time-consuming Selectivity – unless broad coverage Reflexivity - event may proceed differently because it is being observed Cost – hours needed by human observers	*Time spent in and around the areas in question will uncover certain aspects and incidents as they occur* *Photographic evidence of incidents or environments*
Participant Observation	*[Same as above for direct observations]* Insightful into interpersonal behaviour and motives	*[Same as above for direct observations]* Bias due to investigators manipulation of events	*[Same as above for direct observations]*
Physical Artefacts	insightful into cultural features insightful into technical operations	Selectivity Availability	*Access to cultural paraphernalia associated with each group.*

Table 3. Six Sources of Evidence: Strengths, Weaknesses and Applications (adapted from Yin - 1994: 80)

Towards the Interplay: Bringing Theory and Data Together

The empirical discussion, partly as a result of the diversity of data sources, types and collection techniques, does emphasise many elements the sub-system level of investigation. As such fewer links are made throughout the body of the research to the '*macro*' level of 'grand narrative'. Were this to not the case, then the research would have ceased to be an investigation into the interaction *between* diverse groups and would become an assessment of each minority in isolation within a broader framework of global tensions. The diversity and complexity of the case is such that the reader is privileged to every triangulation of the key lines of enquiry around the specific themes of spatial production (chapter 2.1) through the lens of strategy, tactics and experience (as demonstrated in figure 7 - below), ensuring the construct validity of '*micro*' cultures (Handwerker 2002) and bringing together these disparate discourses.

Table 3 (above) offers applied examples of the different types of data and the strengths and weaknesses of each, as discussed in Yin (1994: 80). This strengthens the case study by delving into multiple sources of evidence (ibid: 90-94) and allowing for a triangulation of data around the key lines of inquiry that have been referred to and developed throughout the theoretical discussion, up to this empirical shift in the narrative. In this sense this research sits between discourses of structure and agency seeking to balance the collective distinction of difference within hegemonic processes, defining both as interconnected and developing these thematically throughout the research.

If this sub-unit concentration of the research led to the hermeneutic isolation of the research samples from each other then the embedded case study approach would become unspecific and misdirected. The focus of the study is maintained by directing all lines of inquiry towards the notion of interplay (see figure 7). Assessing first key elements of these issues in a critical isolation before reflecting upon the assertions made of each group through their interaction with each other. If the researcher has in this case successfully retained the strong structural integrity of the strategy and methodology this should come forth in a cogent analysis of the interplay following from a definitional and contextual discussion of the key actors, and spaces.

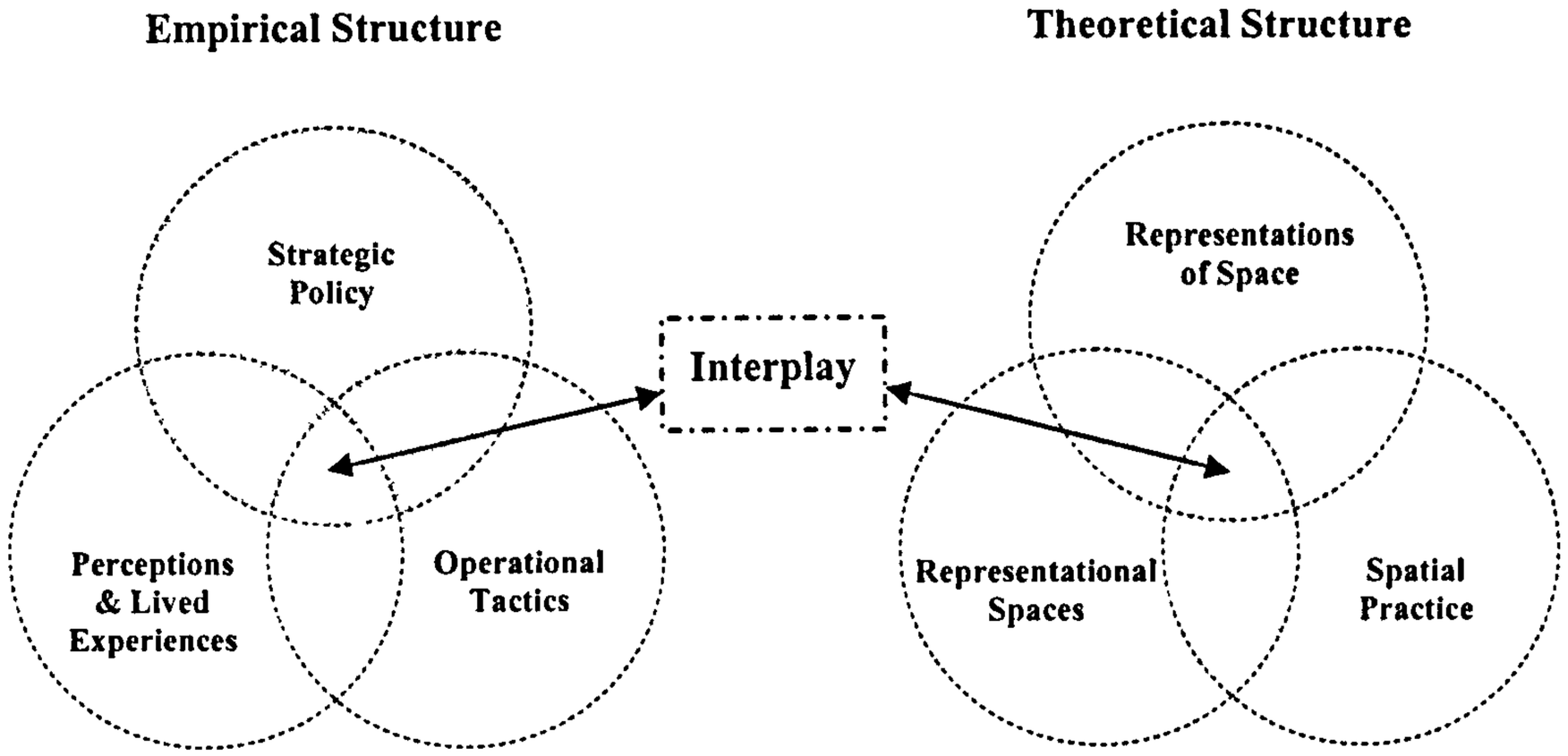


Figure 7. The relative interplay of strategy, tactics & experience compared to the underpinning logic of Spatial Production.

The nature of contemporary regional management particularly in the urban sphere of experience in the UK prevents this approach from being removed from the specifics of the geographical fix on this 'place'[10]. Though some theoretical assertions relating to broad trends at macro levels of discourse may have relevance elsewhere this research is empirically grounded in the '*meso*' or local context. As can be seen through the use of entrepreneurialism in Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool and Birmingham when discussing cultural management (Ward 2003; Williams 2003).

This reference to other UK cities further helps the policy based specificity of the study in comparison to U.S and other more global discourses on the entrepreneurial and cultural shifts in spatial management and wider urban governance; as well as setting a grounded theoretical context for empirical development. It is to this contextualisation of the empirical chapters that we turn in the next chapter where I offer some broad contextual information about Newcastle upon Tyne before detailing the production of space empirically for OES.

Chapter 6.
SETTING THE SCENE: THE CONTEXT OF CHANGE IN NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

This research has been divided into distinct sections. The first four chapters have discussed the broad focus and specific theoretical base of this project, highlighting tensions brought forth by previous research on urban renaissance, youth culture and the connections of these to the broad themes of social exclusion and public space. The methodology used to develop these concerns empirically and some tensions in the application of these to a broad research project have also been discussed (chapter 5). In order to develop a meaningful appraisal of the specific empirical data set collected through these methods it is first useful to offer a brief history of city centre redevelopment in Newcastle upon Tyne which allows for the specific case study of Old Eldon Square (OES) to be given a more general conceptual grounding.

It has been argued here that there has been a separation between the managerial concept of public space and that reflected in the activity of minority users, particularly young users. A large part of what follows in this research seeks to address the views of key actors and agencies affecting this separation, and highlight the potential consequences of this change in real terms for young urban citizens. For this to be a cogent argument it is useful to highlight some distinct conceptual approaches to the physical space of OES itself. From this foundation the distinct understandings of what this space is, and means, for each key group of actors can be broadened. These conceptual approaches and thus show how each example of a concrete spatial representation, given below, feeds into the collectively distinct approaches and actions of each group in practice.

6.1 Newcastle City Centre: Managing the Public

In the 1960s and 1970s Newcastle became nationally renowned in the UK for innovation in housing policy and city centre renewal, and for the charisma of its leaders, who championed the cause of city and regional development. The attempt to transform the city in to the 'Brasilia of the old world' and the 'Venice of the North' came about under the leadership of the so-called 'evangelistic bureaucrats', T. Dan Smith and chief planner Wilfred Burns who created an autocratic and non-pragmatic 'planning atmosphere' (Davies 1972)[1]. Like many UK city centres, this period of modernist revisionism in Newcastle was followed by a period of city centre decline and relocation of many business to purpose built edge of city or out of town sites as areas of derelict industrial land were regenerated in an attempt to provide an alternative to traditional Central Business Districts (CBD). During the 1970's a brave decision was made to change the face of Newcastle upon Tyne. A large swathe of the city centre was demolished and regenerated to accommodate what was (for the time) a state of the art city centre shopping redevelopment. The city centre became a commercial hub once more as the heart of the old city was replaced by Eldon Square (opened in 1975); the first large scale central city brown-field shopping mall redevelopment in the UK. This development also bolstered Newcastle City Councils (NCC) reputation for bold regeneration policy with a lasting effect on both the nature of the city but also its planning and management culture (Pendlebury 1999, 2002)[2].

More recently attempts to stimulate a renewed urban renaissance in Newcastle city centre began again in the 1990s, with a host of city centre renewal policies funded primarily by the national government. This entrepreneurial approach to city centre regeneration was further stimulated by the introduction of national government-led polices in Newcastle focusing on attracting population and business back to the city centre after many years of counter-urbanisation (Coaffee & Healey 2003; Cameron 2003). This strategy launched a number of policy initiatives aimed at improving economic opportunities, the quality of life and the quality of the public environment within the city centre. At the local level these were widely based on attempts to demonstrate the same innovation in the

regeneration and re-use of historic locations for mixed-use business and residential developments[3].

Broader strategic planning documents began to emerge, for the community the 'Going for Growth' plan emerged as a lynchpin in regeneration and focussing the economic development strategy, 'Competitive Newcastle' (N.C.C 1999), and 'The Newcastle Plan' (N.C.C 2003b) covering the Community Strategy – which says what will happen across the whole city – and the Local Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy – which says what will happen in the three most deprived areas of the city. Interestingly none of these holistically address the nature and role of participation in the city centre but they are focussed through the Local Strategic Partnership (LSP)[4] – The Newcastle Partnership – which focuses on key areas of improvement in local government[5].

Linked to city centre transformations from which such endeavours have grown - occurring in the late 1990's - Newcastle, alongside its neighbouring political authority Gateshead, began putting together a bid for European Capital of Culture 2008 leading to the construction of a host of arts and cultural projects in and around Newcastle city centre[6]. In many cases this has taken the form of new strategic policies for re-branding the local and regional identity, appearance and inherent use-values not only of public space throughout the city centre but of the city as a whole. This has included the culture bid itself and a range of other programs and 'strap-lines' including 'Civic Pride', '2005 Alive' and 'Culture[10]'.

Spearheading the (ultimately unsuccessful) bid was the newly formed (in 1999) Newcastle-Gateshead Partnership and its public-private marketing agency, the Newcastle and Gateshead Initiative (NGI). The mission of NGI has been to promote Newcastle as a regional capital in North East of England and to highlight how the transformation of Newcastle City Centre has created an exciting destination for business, tourism, city-centre living and ultimately placed Newcastle amongst the UK urban renaissance 'blueprints' (O.D.P.M 2004c). It can be suggested that the overall aim has been to transform the perception of the city from an industrial hinterland into a commercial

tourist 'Mecca' harnessing Newcastle's reputation as a 'party city' and emphasise the image of a vibrant 24 hour city with strong day (knowledge and service) and night-time (recreation & leisure) economies (Chatterton & Hollands 2002).

From Policy to Public: Key Public Spaces in the City Centre

The city centre is the focus for many of the businesses these management strategies and tactics seek to attract (e.g. cultural industries such as tourism). What are often seen as public space are now becoming defined differently referred to in policy as open spaces in many strategic plans and documents (N.C.C 1999, 2002, 2003b). These open spaces, in such a compact city centre, form nodes of activity in a public network connected by the

Figure 8 Newcastle upon Tyne City Centre – supplied by Nexus & Newcastle University

transitory spaces of the streets themselves.

In Newcastle upon Tyne the inner ring of this network is formed by 4 key instrumental spaces. At the northern point the South-African war memorial at Haymarket Monument & Metro, at the East The Blue Carpet, in the central area Greys Monument and the West (and primary focus of this research) Old Eldon Square. These are connected by the main shopping street (forming an inverted T) Northumberland street (the pedestrianised high street) and Blackett Street (a conduit of local transport east-west).

Further to these central spaces there are peripheral and marginal, guarded or surveilled spaces and parks stretching from Exhibition Park in the North to Time Square in the South and from Leazes Park in the West to the motorway and ring road in the East, and South to the newly regenerated Quayside along the river Tyne. It also includes a range of other 'grassy patches' and memorials or monuments within this spatial web (see figure 8 – map of city centre). These form the spatial boundaries of the city centre and it is within this geographical framework that this research has been conducted.

Given that each space has a multi-layered history and within each the representations of space that have evolved have developed over a great deal of time, to develop a comprehensive understanding of all of the spaces within this network is a very large task and has been deemed beyond the remit of this research. However it is impossible to see any one of these spaces as hermeneutically bounded, and thus unconnected to the network.

This is a critical distinction in defining the nature of space within this research. Where changes affect one space they can also affect others within the network. No one space is seen here as isolated or disconnected from those that surround it, or are linked to it through the networks of streets, walkways, alleys, public and private thoroughfares and other more open public areas. To this end references are made to other public spaces in order to demonstrate salient points about the general bent of strategic policy or of the specific tactics affecting OES through this connectivity.

6.2 Conceptual Approaches to Old Eldon Square

The theoretical debate (chapters 1-4) has emphasised three thematic threads that run through this research; conceptual space or 'representations of space' dominated but not exclusive to the strategic policy plans and documents of managerial groups; lived realities or representational spaces which can be seen generally as the forms of appropriate use in public space (as dictated in strategic plans but also lived by people *in situ*); and the perception of space and its users or spatial practice which brings together the diverse reactions to different forms of use, through tactical actions of commercial actors, managers and users alike as they encounter each other through and over time.

The emphasis is placed on two key aspects of this in the course of the empirical discussion. The separation of conceptual space from lived experience in defining both space itself as well as its appropriate uses, and the effects of this separation on the interplay of social groups in the production of commercial public space in the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne. In order to develop this in depth it is necessary to offer here some of the broad conceptual approaches that can be taken to public space; more importantly, to concentrate on OES as the central locus of the public space network and as the primary embedded focus for this research.

The various conceptual approaches to Old Eldon Square itself are not just limited to managerial groups, which will be the predominant focus of the next chapter. The four broader versions of this conceptual space are outlined below[7].

The 4 Key Concepts

There are at the conceptual level four dominant concepts applied to OES. These are most important at the level of strategic policy and management but also have implications for users, in the way that they interact with the space and other users within it.

An Open Space: The Multi-purpose & Public

The characteristics of public spaces were comprehensively defined in chapter 2.1 from a perspective of the ideal in theoretical research. OES has been referred to in many different ways throughout the course of the interviews but clearly the most dominant concept of OES is as a public space; and perhaps the most important public space in the city centre. It falls almost at the centre of the old city and as pointed out above is one of the only green spaces in the city centre itself.

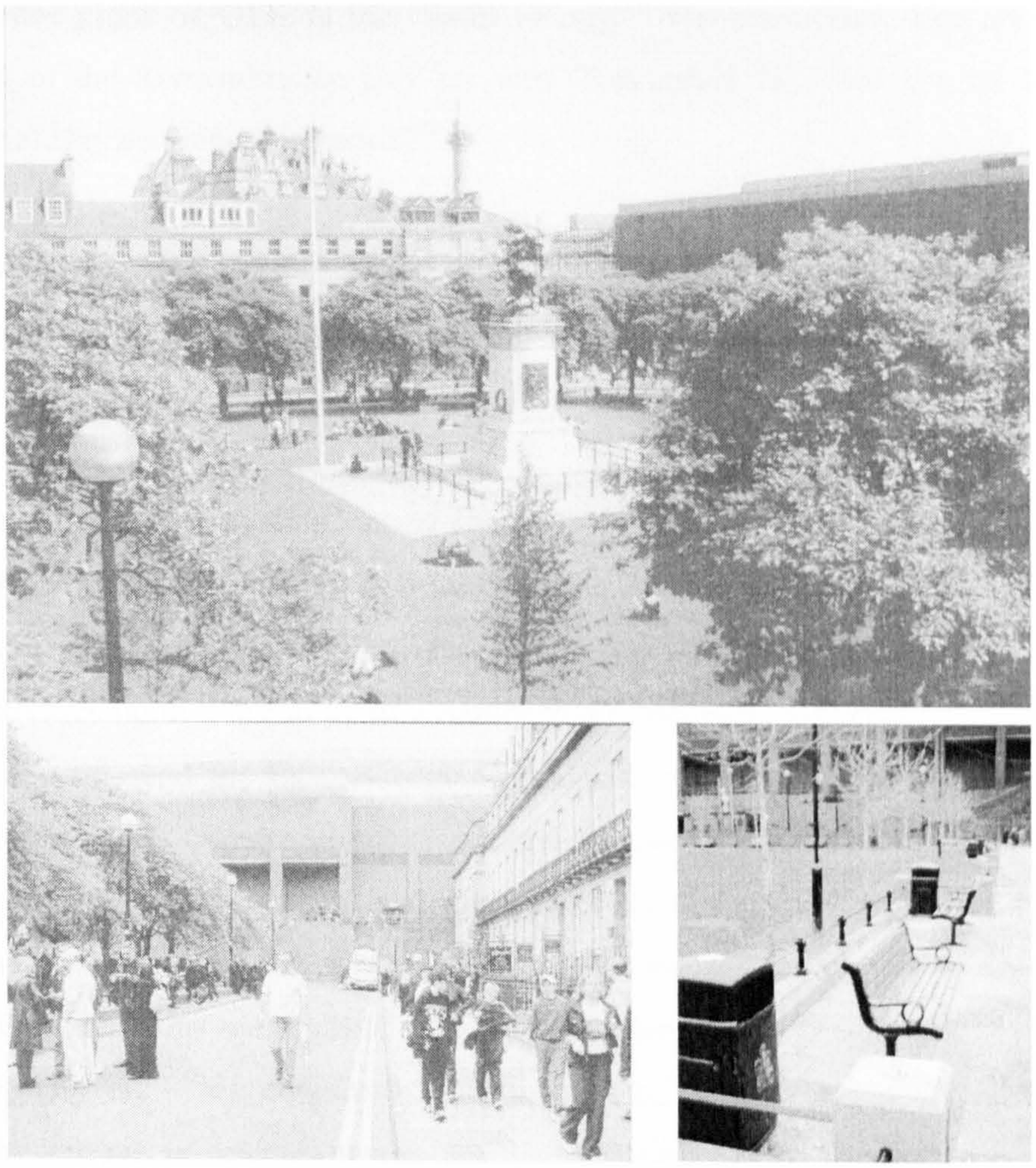


Figure 9a. Top - OES seen from West side above on Eldon Walk 2002. 9b. Bottom Left – Old Eldon Square Slip Road taken from Blackett Street 2002. 9c. Bottom Right -Old Eldon Square public Seating replacement, pedestrianised slip road 2004

In the political context of governance the general consensus is that OES is a multi-use public space (see figure 9a-c) but each individual within the council and the police had a somewhat different idea of what a public space is, how it should be used, and what form of activity is, was, and should be, seen as appropriate within it. This undoubtedly is reflected in the operation and application of policy towards the square from within governance institutions.

Sacred Space: A War Memorial

The centre piece of OES is the 'Saint George'[8] war memorial. This is not only the location of the Remembrance Day services (November 11th) but also of the Holocaust Memorial Day services (January 27th).

So important is this identity to the governance groups responsible for management of OES that a 'Holocaust Memorial Day Working Group' has been established to coordinate the yearly services and activities on the square (chapter 9).

For many of those that died during the wars of the 20th century there were no bodies recovered. To those survivors and the families of the victims of the wars this space is seen as sacred. In many ways the closest thing to the last resting place of their loved ones, thus activities upon it are to be of a nature that remembers and respects that heritage and legacy. To this end the Ex-servicemens Association has become seen as an influential lobby in the management and policy orientation towards activity and use of OES. This in relation not only to the subcultural groups accessing OES, but also the opinions of the Ex-servicemen are given an almost deferential treatment, when relating especially to the councils attempts to maximise the tourist potential of the space (e.g. veto of ice rink, market plans etc – see chapter 9). Further communication and assumptions have been made by groups in relation to the political position of the ex-servicemen which have affected policy at several times in different ways over the last few years (see chapter 9).

Figure 10. The monument itself in the early evening.
10a. Bottom Left - Wreaths placed on wires around the memorial for the Remembrance Sunday activities.
10b. Bottom Right - Notices placed at OES to inform the public of the monuments purpose.

A Commercial Space: Pseudo-Public & Business

There are two key elements to the commercial aspects of OES. It is surrounded on three sides (two connected and one across Blackett Street) by the Eldon Square mall. One of the largest city centre malls in Europe. Whilst the mall at present is somewhat fortified,

with no direct shop entrance or exits onto the square at ground level, regeneration plans are set to change this in the near future, as will be discussed below.

On the fourth side of the square inhabiting the remnants of the original terraced architecture is a selection of relatively small scale local businesses ranging from general

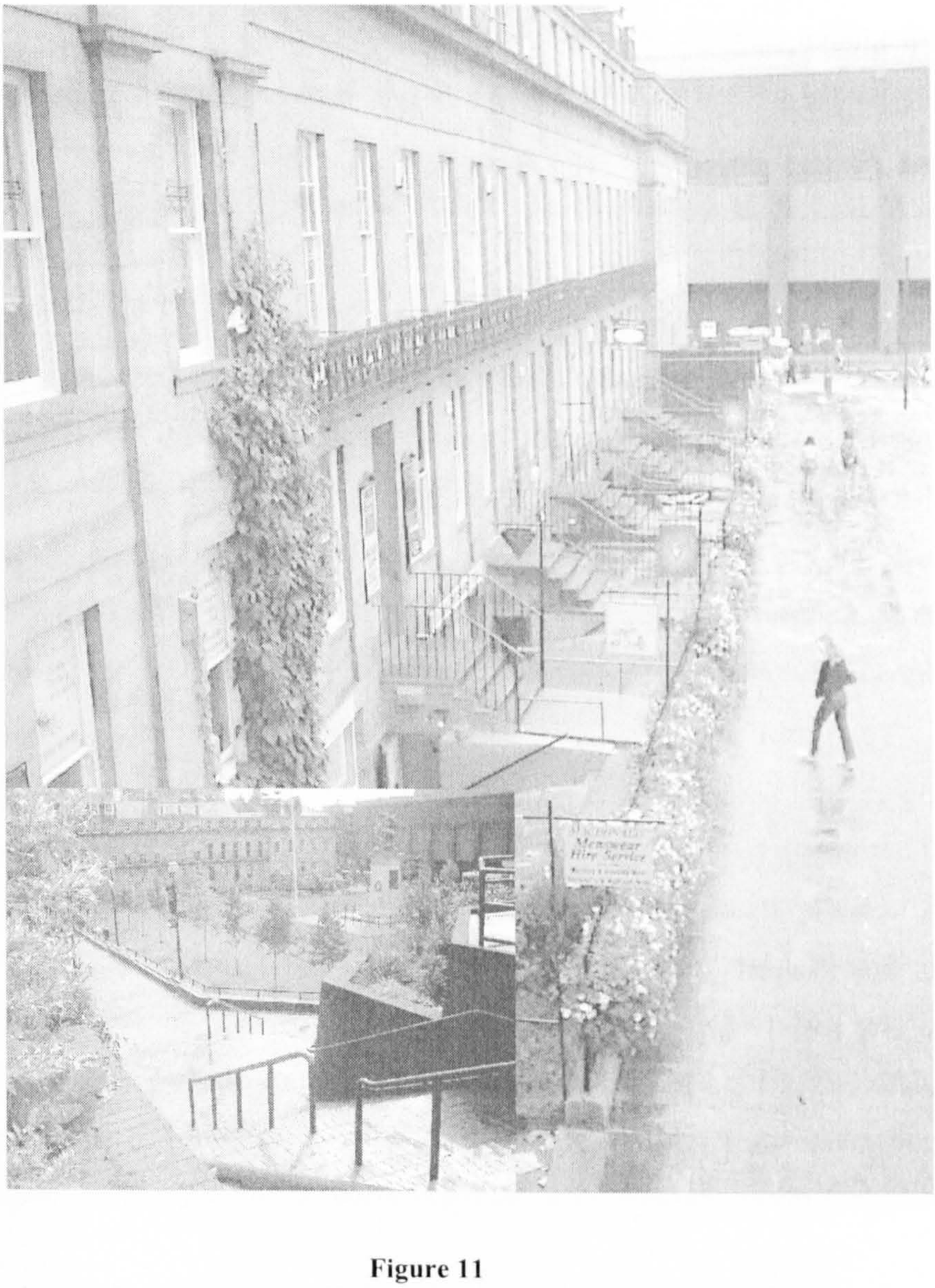


Figure 11
Main picture - View of Georgian Terrace (local specialty stores) from Eldon Walk Autumn 2004
Inset – View from Starbuck café, Eldon Square - Autumn 2004

services to specialist shops and cafés. These open out directly onto the east side of the square and form a small but diverse private business / commercial community. Amongst the specialist services provided are accountancy, sports equipment repair, a holiday booking agent, clothing hire and purchase (from wedding & hat hire to specialist club wear), seamstress and clothes repair, jewellers, music related shops (both equipment and records/CDs), hairstylists & beauty services and a range of cafés. This understandably has a draw for a diverse range of consumers seeking these services adding further to the complex sample population and diverse use-values attributed to OES (chapter 7.2).

A Locus of Transit Systems: Thoroughfare From North-South & East-West

Again there is more than one aspect to the transportation and thoroughfare concept as applied to this space. The immediate connection is Blackett Street itself which forms a 'main artery' of the public transport through the city centre running from the west-east end of the city. Several bus stops are placed along Blackett street on both sides of the road, giving immediate access to OES and adding substantially to the transitory population and use of the square as a waiting or meeting area throughout the day and during evening service times. A pedestrianisation program in the city centre has been linked to Blackett Street but never implemented [9].

Previously a direct connection to underneath Eldon Square Mall through the George and Dragon pub linked OES directly to the bus concourse underneath the Mall, this is the destination of most of the North-South busses that run into the city and out into the surrounding countryside, and also operated as a shortcut through to the rear of Marks & Spencers and the Haymarket bus station. However since November 2001 the George and Dragon has been closed whilst design processes and planning permissions procedures were undertaken in relation to the redevelopment of the bus concourse (chapter 7.2).

Figure 12. Blackett Street bus stops viewed from Blackett Bridge in Eldon Square Shopping Centre - Spring 2004

Developing the debate

As suggested (in chapter 1) the empirical research will address three broad themes, but here the focus is tightened from the general and theoretical onto the specifics of the case study. First, the concept of Old Eldon Square in managerial strategy, and specific redevelopment plans, is brought forth by rounding up the key issues and implication of how public space is managed; developing this into a focused assessment of commercial influences at the more strategic level (chapter 7). Whilst the tactics of managerial groups are introduced in relation to strategic policy (7.1) the explicit actions undertaken are given more depth in the context of both commercial regeneration interests (7.2) and later

the interplay of these interests with other groups (9.2). The reason for this distinction is to allow the conceptual representations of public space to be linked into a broader assessment of entrepreneurial change and demonstrate both the separation of concept from reality, as well as the impact of this on lived experiences of the public for both users *and* managers. The initially quite broad view of the general conceptual representations allows for a better understanding of which representation is privileged highest, if such is the case, by each group in practice. This has a particular bearing on managerial representations and the use to which these views are put from the 'top-down'.

Secondly, the 'bottom-up' interpretation of spatial practices is developed by assessing youth identities in situ (chapter 8); this conflates the self identity of youths with an emphasis on their activities, including connections and conflict between collectively distinct youth cultures (8.1). The external perceptions of young people by other key actors are then connected to this bringing forward the prominence of acceptability and morality in the perception of young people in public (8.2).

By developing these threads of enquiry alongside each other then the discussion of how these defined and separate conceptual and perceptive frameworks interplay can be driven through the key intermediaries (9.1), and by actions and substantive changes (9.2) affecting the network of public space. This is expanded here to include specific examples of actions that can seen as explicitly or implicitly exclusionary as well as attempts to provide for, and consult with, the youth groups discussed above (9.3).

The concluding discussion then summarises the research, offering some suggestions for the reconciliation of these groups, and lead towards suggesting a more informed hegemonic participation by minority groups in urban renaissance. It also creates an opportunity to parallel similarities in the safe orderly conceptual representations and assess the context of entrepreneurial change through the reactive lens of perception (see chapter 3). It is likely that the perceived need for a more controlled, orderly and morally acceptable behavioural consensus has come to underpin definitions of commercial public space through a passive acceptance of the regulations implicit in privatisation of the

dangerous and unpredictable urban public (chapter 10). These may appear through the conceptual representations of safety, easy and comfortable commercial activity to be improvements and thus beneficial to the urban majority; but fringe groups not included in meaningful hegemony extend beyond the disadvantaged (e.g. homeless, vagrant, disenfranchised) to young citizens, framed themselves in a context of cultural misunderstanding and fear of 'the Other'. These, as potential dangers of entrepreneurialism, have been discussed in the theoretical chapters and this research will see to what extent these dangers are realised in the redevelopment of public space, specifically - but not limited to - OES, in Newcastle city centre. The real impact of entrepreneurial change on the production of public space will be demonstrated in practice through this theoretically informed and empirically grounded assessment.

Chapter 7.
MANAGEMENT & CONCEPTS:
REPRESENTING OES AS COMERCIAL PUBLIC SPACE

The main emphasis in this chapter is on managerial actors and the rationality underpinning firstly the conceptual approach to public space (7.1), and then the meticulous design of OES as an architectural project (7.2). Managerial agencies are defined here as Newcastle City Council (NCC) and its various subgroups (specific to the management of OES); as well as security agencies, in the form both the Northumbria Police force in the city centre and the private shopping mall security of the CSC managed 'Eldon Square' complex (7.1). In addition, key commercial actors are discussed, integrating the themes of entrepreneurialism which underpin these views and representations as they become manifest in strategic and tactical activities (7.2). Where possible this will link into the broader theme of managing youth, however this is secondary behind the fragmentation of management institutions into key subgroups assessing first; the representations of public space in strategy (7.1), and the specific schemes for the redevelopment of OES, including tactical practices of consultation (7.2).

In this chapter strategies and tactics are applied to both civic (7.1) and commercial (7.2) agendas for urban regeneration. It is important to recognise that strategy operates within conceptual representations of space, this relates specifically to issues of vernacular, design, architecture and regeneration. Strategies relating to action rather than conceptual orientation of regeneration, such as police strategies, are conflated with tactics and practices. In particular when discussing strategy the reference is intended to connect with those strategic planning documents developed within the guidelines of 'urban renaissance'.

These themes have been developed in their own rhetoric of gentrification and exclusion (Jessop 1997; Lehrer 1998; Lees 2000) and here they will be assessed empirically through the management of OES in the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne. It has been argued (in chapter 2) that the conceptual use-value of public space is dominated by managers through the '*rationality of planned urban locations or the meticulous design of an architectural projects*' (Allen & Pryke 1994: 454). In order to

connect the abridgement of previous work in this field (2.2) to more empirically grounded interests some substantive research questions were brought forth, in relation to management:

How do managerial and security institutions view and represent commercial public spaces in city cores? [1]

In order to develop an understanding of the manner in which the city centre is viewed an unpacking of both strategy and tactics is required. The general approach taken in entrepreneurial management to the implementation of conceptual strategic plans seems to suggest a separation of 'conceptual strategies' or *policies* and more or operational 'management tactics' or *practices* in order to effectively regenerate and manage public space. These strategies and tactics represent both the long term vision of the city as a whole (the extensive range of policy documents which outline it in detail) and the day-to-day management of public spaces (through the practice of policy at the level of the street).

It is difficult at times to separate strategies and tactics in developing the extent to which entrepreneurialism influences the concept of public space; in fact the two are so interwoven at times they appear to be inseparable. Each 'subgroup'[2] of the council has a different role to play and a different remit to enact and to this end the importance of strategy or tactics in the actions with which they engage are different for each. Furthermore, this can sometimes be affected by the ideologies of individual officers and the nature of the activities with which they are tasked[3].

Unpacking the depth of bureaucracy in management is not however the key concern of this thesis, though it does play a role in understanding the interpretations of policy and the resulting tactical practices of key actors[4]. Key individuals do operate within this framework, as both civic and commercial intermediaries. Examples of these intermediaries will be highlighted throughout the narrative (7.2 & 9.1).

Next the subgroups of the council which develop individual strategies are linked to this structure of conceptual policy generation, demonstrating the strengths and weaknesses of groups using strategic concepts driven from the 'top-down' and those

using tactical practices informed from the 'bottom-up'. This introduction to the key actors sets up a later discussion of the interplay between managers and users (chapter 9)[5].

Understanding the strategies, and thence tactics through which these strategies are enacted, will give an overview of the fragmented representations or concept of public space from a managerial approach. It does not, at this point, address the links to the commercial sector in as much depth as is required; to this end it must also be asked:

What connections exist between the redevelopment or management of OES and more entrepreneurial and commercially oriented interests?

An assessment of the plans for the regeneration of OES demonstrates the extent to which the conceptual representations of OES are affected, and increasingly driven by, commercial concerns (7.2). This emphasises the top-down domination of conceptual space by entrepreneurial management concerns and highlights the influence of commercial stakeholder partners in the planning and design of schemes pending for the regeneration of OES (i.e. the control and supply of OES as a public space in the city centre).

By looking at some of the practical concerns of management in the context of commercial stakeholders, private partners and local business the focus is maintained, but not exclusively limited. As an example of public space where concepts of open, commercial and public space interact, OES forms the central focus as a part a broader strategic understanding of public space in this research.

7.1 Representations of Public Space: Entrepreneurialism in Management

The general concepts of Old Eldon Square were highlighted in chapter 6.2; the focus here is specifically on the overarching *managerial* conceptual representations of public space and developing these through an in depth analysis of their fragmentation through the various subgroups of governance.

Understanding how managerial and security institutions approach the nature and role of public space, and seeing the extent to which it is viewed as commercial, would appear to require a focus on the structure of urban spatial management and a better understanding of how these institutions are 'built'. However that would require a PhD in itself on managerial structure which is not the primary concern of this discussion. What is needed here is a reflection on the concepts underpinning manager's top-down strategic understandings of public space and how this drives the tactics used by them for managing these spaces in the context of the city centre.

The importance of strategic policy in regeneration has been set as a key factor in the Urban White Papers (UWP) (D.E.T.R 1999; O.D.P.M 2004), and in a recent report by DEMOS in the context of Newcastle's regeneration agenda:

'*Overcoming the false necessities and belief systems which bind us to our limitations requires confidence, leadership and an orientation to the city's development that favours long-term improvement. This is why developing good strategy is essential. It provides a shared orientation which can guide good decision-making and change over a long horizon.*' (Huber et al. 2004)

The City Centre Action Plan (CCAP)

The conceptual representations of space presented by the council in strategic policy are at once both singular and divided. The homogenous top-down concept for public spaces in the city centre is presented in strategic policy documents such as the CCAP.

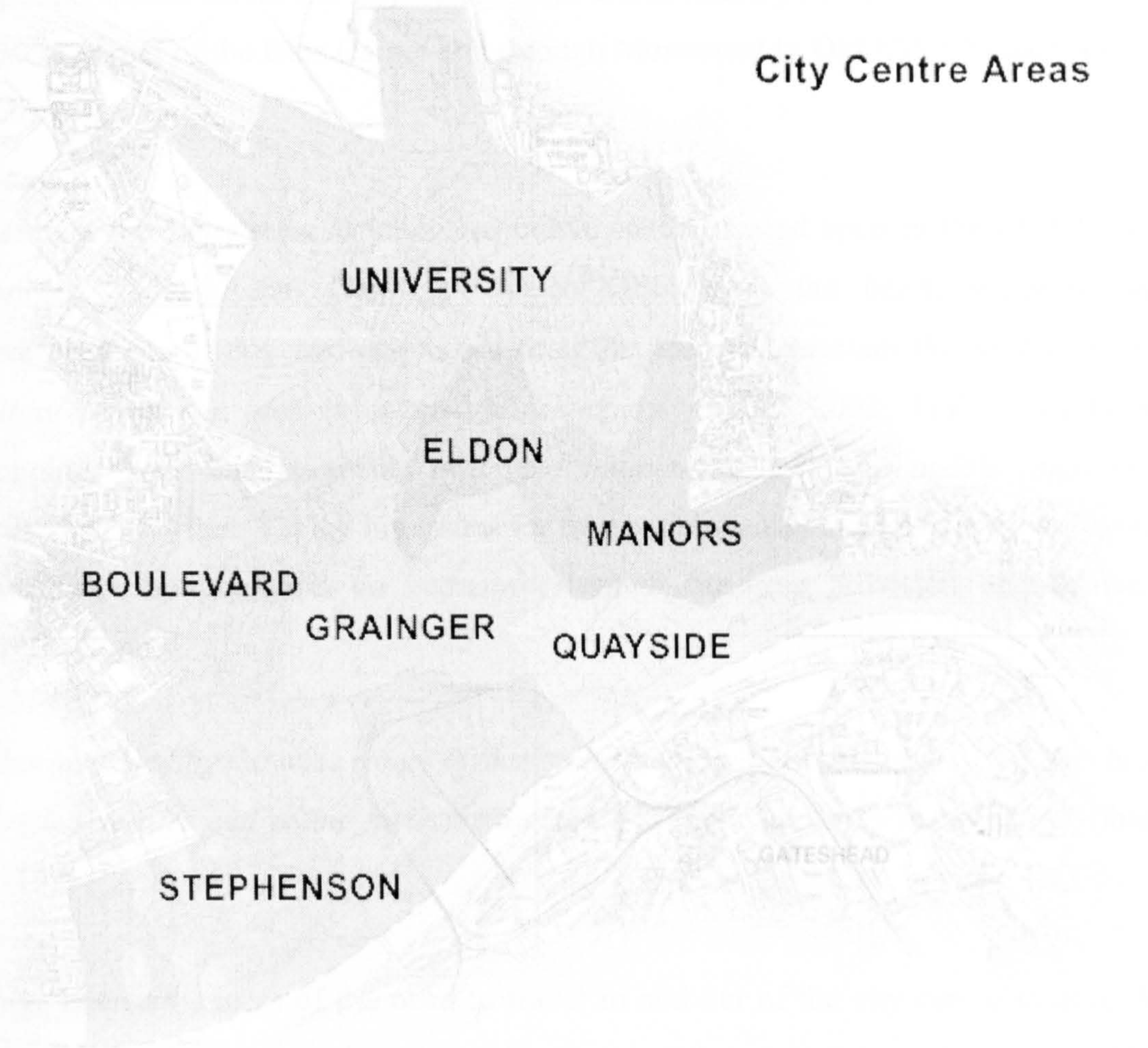


Figure 13. Outline of City Centre Action Areas in the plan (N.C.C 2002: 5)

This is probably among the most important strategic policy documents, presenting a singular concept for the city centre through a planned vision; though it can be criticised as offering only general thematic guidelines rather than a specific program or framework of development. The CCAP has seen two incarnations at present, from its 1999 inception and a 2002 review, and is now facing a redefinition as the City Centre Strategy.

As a policy document the CCAP combines the broad aims and targets of economic and cultural spatial strategy for the repackaging and regeneration of the city centre. Here the concern is primarily with the central of seven sectors, the Eldon Retail Core (Figure 13). Within or verging onto this area lie the key spaces in the central network

of public spaces across the city centre from the northern point of Haymarket, to the western corner of the Blue Carpet and through Monument to Old Eldon Square (OES) itself.

There are three key representations of public space focused upon in the CCAP. The moniker 'Eldon Retail Core', of which OES is at the heart, suggests that representations of this area emphasise first, the need to '*maintain this sectors retail pulling power for both investors and shoppers*' (N.C.C 2002: 11)[6]. Aspects of shopping and entertainment or the '*uniqueness of Newcastle's shopping "experience"*" (ibid: 12) are big issues for the spatial management of the Eldon Retail Core, with an emphasis on economy through business provision and leisured consumption:

'*Characterised by the wide range of shops and retail outlets, this area also has a host of office, leisure and eating facilities together with four multi-story car parks.*' (ibid: 11-12)

There is an awareness of the need to travel in and out of the city centre in order to access spaces, services and facilities. So the second representation, demonstrated by the integration of shopping concerns with the location of parking facilities, is of the city centre as a locus of transport links.

Public transport is a key service in the city centre and parking facilities are vital to the suburban and regional consumers that the city wishes to attract:

'*Served by two Metro Stations and major bus facilities at Haymarket Bus Station and Eldon Square Bus Concourse, together with major street facilities at Blackett Street and Newgate Street.*' (ibid: 12)

Traffic management is in fact the key strategic concern affecting the OES and Blackett Street area specifically. A wish to reduce the traffic flow was originally linked to the proposition of extending the pedestrianisation of Northumberland Street and Monument down Blackett Street itself (see chapter 9). This would have created a completely car free zone from North to South of the Eldon Retail Core, starting at

Haymarket (at the edge of the University area) and ending at Blackett Street (bordering Grainger town) and encompassing OES.

The third representation demonstrates the need to improve the city centre as a showcase for the city and as an international leisure destination. This acknowledges that improvements are required in; accessibility (from disabled access to buildings to the opening times of shops), environment (the safety and cleanliness of the city centre spaces & streets), and entertainment (from street performance to markets and other appropriate activities), thus entrepreneurial tactics of regeneration underpin this final aesthetic representation:

'*Making the area pleasant and attractive for shoppers and visitors and encourage arts and cultural events... Continue the planting of floral displays together with a regular maintenance programme of street furniture and fittings.*' (ibid: 12)

Problematising the CCAP: aesthetics, gentrification & fragmentation

Distinct concerns do arise from the representations of space offered by the CCAP as a key strategic policy document. The rhetoric of gentrification and commercialisation is frequently implicit in the language describing the Eldon Retail Core. The significance of this to the more operational management tactics for public space cannot be ignored. When the management conceptual understandings of OES are unpacked (7.1) and linked to the commercial regeneration plans for OES such concerns become explicit in the rational space of designers, architects and planners (7.2).

The aesthetic gloss applied to the presentation of these retail spaces is, it appears, important enough to be integrated as a key action area in strategic policy, thus becoming a conceptual driver of the redevelopment and future management of public space in the city centre. As thematic guidelines for the orientation of the city centre, the concepts developed in the CCAP inform almost all of the proposals for the redesign, regeneration, management and perception of use affecting OES (7.2).

As a conceptual driver this is less a form of distinct gentrification[7] than it is an overt 'aestheticisation' of space. Whilst gentrification implies a specific displacement of

lower income groups by regeneration privileging middle-class groups, aestheticisation implies that by making an area cleaner, appearing safer and by offering a different, more commercial representations of space, and thus use-value, then groups not fitting into this vernacular are displaced on often visually demarcated notions of appropriateness rather than any wealth based distinctions (Reeve 1996); hence why young people with distinct visual lifestyles are often seen as potentially problematic (chapter 4). Furthermore, the understanding of 'access' in the CCAP appears to be driven by transport and disability issues rather than any applied understanding or concern for wider social cohesion[8].

As a holistic conceptual strategy the CCAP also exhibits fragmentation when fed through key managerial subgroups. As stated above the conceptual representations of OES in management are as diverse as the uses to which space can be put (see chapter 8). Many key subgroups have fed opinions and thus content directly into the CCAP, but all have drawn from it different emphases for their own particular strategies and have allowed their tactics and practices to become influenced by different aspects of this vision. Each subgroup thus has a subtly different interpretation of the vision of the city centre and the concept of public space in each internal departmental strategic policy within Newcastle City Council. This has repercussions on the focus of strategic policy and is reflected in the ground level tactical actions and investment taken by each subgroup. The differences between these internal variations are important to the definition of concepts and for the form of tactics used to engage with both the users of public spaces and the specific spaces themselves; informing the perception of both *space* and *activity* within OES from a managerial perspective[9].

Confusing Strategy & Policy: Management Subgroups & Public Space

There are many groups that play a role as actors within the institutions that develop the regeneration plans and run the day-to-day management operations affecting OES.

Newcastle city council has been undergoing a period of restructuring during the data collection period of this research. This exacerbates many of the tensions and the

confusion in defining key subgroups in the managerial hierarchy. Within the city council there are a range of actors; these have been separated in key subgroups and the focus has been placed upon those centrally connected to OES. Cabinet members and Ward Councillors represent democratically elected actors. Alongside these are the specific themed directorates, for example Neighbourhood Services who among other duties are tasked with street maintenance, and Environment, Enterprise & Culture whose key concern is regeneration. Each directorate is further divided into service related subgroups, and it is at this level that the key agencies discussed in this chapter are found, including; Planning & Transportation Division (PTD), Parks & Countryside Service (PCS), and Play & Youth Services (PYS).

The next tier of urban management is not part of the city council but is represented by Police & Security Agencies, such as Northumbria Police; themselves divided into subgroups and panels for orientation of security related services such as the City Centre Control Panel (management team) to the 'bobbies on the beat' and the police surveillance operators (for details on surveillance see chapter 9.3). This however also includes private commercial sector security, who have a range of surveillance and security operatives answerable to commercial agencies. These are less important in this context as the private mall lies largely beyond the operational boundaries of OES, and is integrated into the narrative through a more conceptual lens. Finally the commercial or private sector had a range of actors and agencies at its disposal including City Centre Management (CCM), key stakeholder partners ranging from the multi-national or national chains and brands to small scale local businesses & traders (7.2).

Each of these groups has a distinct remit in relation to the management of OES, some of these are architectural, some social and others economic or culturally driven. What is particularly interesting is that each of these subgroups relates to concepts and practices (i.e. strategies and tactics) in different ways. For some the *strategies* inform their tactics and those of other subgroups, thus affecting their management practices towards the users of public space; for others their *tactics* inform the orientation of strategies thus informing the conceptual approach to public space.

As this is the rational spaces of designers, architects and planners it is important to acknowledge that at this level most strategies deal with general approaches to the public, if mentioning it at all, thus connecting the space to OES will be clearer when the discussion of specific regeneration schemes and tactical practices is developed later[10].

In developing the confusion of strategy and policy Planning and Transportation (PTD) are addressed first, as the most powerful subgroup in this interplay of managerial concepts; followed by Parks and Countryside (PCS) as a tactical subgroup with a highly developed conceptual strategy and typology of public space, leading into the Ward Councillors as a key intermediary in the development of strategies.

Planning & Transportation Division (PTD)

Institution / Subgroup	Main Strategic Policy Documents (Affecting OES)	Main Managerial tactics (Affecting OES)
PTD	City Centre Action Plan Unitary Development Plan (UDP) Local Development Framework (LDF) The Newcastle Plan Competitive Newcastle Various Planning Applications	Delivering Improvements to the Built Environment; this includes issues of: • Submitting planning proposals. • Coordinating design changes in the wider built environment to realise conceptual visions in practical terms.

Table 4.The main Strategic Guidelines and Tactical Practices of the Planning & Transportation Division

The Planning & Transportation Division (PTD) is a part of the Enterprise, Entertainment and Culture Directorate (EEC)[11] and is responsible for the systematic coordination of proposals, schemes, designs and urban renewal projects. Essentially the planning of the city centre passes through PTD; thus the role of this subgroup in the management of OES is very important to future conceptual representations of the space.

The CCAP was compiled by a key actor within this group from the contributions of council officers and Ward councillors across the breadth of Newcastle city council

and was received critically by many within the institution[12]. The primary remit of this group is the realisation of guidelines set out in strategies such as; the Unitary Development Plan (UDP), more recently the Local Development Framework (LDF) and, in the context of OES as a city central public space, the CCAP, through the development and delivery of specific planning proposals. These design-led and strategically driven approaches to the city centre are fuelled by the key emphases of these documents on factors such as cleanliness, safety and accessibility[13].

Specifically affecting OES, PTD are linked to practical design decisions such as the bus concourse redevelopment (7.2) and issues surrounding the use of Blackett Street by local bus operators, Nexus, as the main conduit of east-west transport (see chapter 6). Key concerns highlighted in discussion with officers and senior staff in PTD have been the pressure of pedestrians passing through and waiting for buses[14] and the need to maximise the potential use of 'dead frontage' on three sides of the square. This fits perfectly with the actions areas highlighted by the CCAP, linking conceptually to the maximisation of the commercial potential of OES. These needs are driven by a commercial economic imperative and embedded in several levels of strategic planning by PTD[15]. The emphasis demonstrates that the conceptual space of PTD is one that links strongly into the central themes of the CCAP; further the commercially driven notion of success in design is strongly connected to the entrepreneurial values underpinning the broader themes of conceptual strategy. The commercial representations of space often originate within PTD (often in the form of planning proposals, designs and delivery plans for specific schemes) and are central in understanding the rational space of designers, architects and planners as it affects OES, as shown here by a senior representative of PTD discussing the OES redevelopment with their partners Capital Shopping Centres (CSC):

'It sort of coincided with a bit of a rethink on their part independently anyway so we weren't pushing for an open door anyway but it wasn't as hard work as we expected it to be and part of that was saying "why don't you look at ways of bringing retail out into the square to give it some interest on the two big blank facades that we've got" because it is a boring space and it does attract undesirables, can I say, from the point of view of certain members of society.'[16]

Policy & Tactics

There are several ways to view the application of policy in tactics by this subgroup, as there are for all of these smaller divisions in the city council. PTD has a powerful position in NCC with regards to decision-making about planning proposals and regeneration, and how this affects the direction of the broad concept of the city centre and of OES. The orientation of this department tends towards the practical realisation of conceptually driven strategic visions and fulfilling the actions necessary to bring a design to its full conclusion as a living part of the city. It is clear from the above discussion of structure and agency within PTD that this department functions as a 'tight ship'. Many of the informal discussions with other members of the council gave the impression that not much happens in the city centre without the approval of PTD. The vision for the future of OES is design-led, and as the group responsible for developing many of the in-house proposals and coordinating external agencies this makes PTD as a subgroup extremely influential in directing through design, whether implicitly or intentionally, the managerial tactics of other subgroups who are closer to street-level 'lived experiences' of users. If there is any prescription of a specific use-value inherent to the conceptual space embedded in the design and planning of OES it is appears to be grounded in the activity of PTD. This strategic emphasis seems to designify the role of community planning in the light of the prioritisation of centralised strategic planning; this is reflected in the relatively low priority of local community empowerment in the assessment of participation by local authorities (Birch 2001: 39-45).

Strategic Strengths and Weaknesses

The best abilities of PTD lie in their ability to interact with the strong strategic awareness of the city centre through the broad range of guidance offered by documents such as the Newcastle Plan (N.C.C 2003b), 'Competitive Newcastle' (N.C.C 1999) & the CCAP (N.C.C 2002). The focus in the strategic concept for the city tends to emphasise large scale, investment-heavy development, which can be criticised for lacking community involvement and relevance, but is easily marketable. This is a criticism levelled at NCC frequently during the 'Capital of Culture 2008' bid

through their emphasis of large 'flagship' developments such as The Gate commercial complex, the Baltic Art Gallery and the Sage Music Centre[17], and can be linked into the lack of a community emphasis in the OES bus concourse plan[18].

PTD also demonstrate an ability to organise, coordinate and realise strategic goals. This strategic awareness is directly translated into realisable initiatives through partnership with both public and private institutions. This is most functional in the ability of PTD to liaise with design contractors internally (such as City Design) and externally (through design competitions, e.g. bus concourse[19]). Unfortunately this often seems to create an over-emphasis on the perceptions of acceptable use prescribed by the conceptual representations of space within PTD; a lack of any holistic awareness of the managerial tactics of other groups and apathy towards the use of space by less commercially viable user demographics result. These problems appear implicitly embedded in PTDs approach to OES.

Tactical Strengths & Weaknesses

Consultation is frequently an issue for NCC. Often for commercial redevelopments this task is franchised out to private sector companies with a distinct remit as to the necessity and type of consultation with which to engage. Whilst this fulfils the requirements of mandatory consultation set down to ensure community involvement, consultation in this form seems designed to yield the minimum impact on plans in practice. Thus specific designs fitting the grander entrepreneurial vision of the city centre, already decided upon by select actors within PTD appear to be 'pushed' through local planning. Revisions, when they occur, appear minimal and consultations are not fed back into the decision-making process in an appropriate manner.

Parks & Countryside Service (PCS)

The Parks & Countryside Service is a part of the Neighbourhood Services directorate and sits within the Leisure Services Section[20], and is essentially responsible for the care and maintenance of any and all open green spaces in the city of Newcastle[21]. A senior PCS representative however suggested a different approach to that emphasised by discussions of PTD:

"Our approach is slightly different to other departments in that we are interested in using those facilities as a method of promoting social cohesion and adding to the quality of life in the city, and much of the work that my section does is about involving people in the management of those services, and finding out what people want and trying to change our service to meet that in terms of aspirations and peoples needs. Then we procure the funds to deliver and we procure the services to actually cut the grass, what ever it needs to do, you know, build the buildings, manage the buildings. We procure the services to do that from a variety of different sources..."

This approach attempts to develop a reflexive dialogue with the needs of the users of public space as a central element of the conceptual strategies for the regeneration and maintenance of open green spaces in Newcastle upon Tyne different from the top-down design-driven conceptual focus of PTD. The concepts of play spaces and use-value are more prevalent here than anywhere else is strategically inclined groups as a result of the tactical grounding of the PCS daily operations.

Institution / Subgroup	**Main Strategic Policy Documents** (Affecting OES)	**Main Managerial tactics** (Affecting OES)
PCS	Parks & Green Spaces Strategy (PGSS) Ancillary PGSS documents City Centre Action Plan (CCAP)	Involvement of communities in green space, also maintenance, protection & improvement of 'Green Open Spaces' This includes issues of: • Environmental upkeep & improvement. • Making sure green spaces are developed & *used* appropriately.

Table 5.The main Strategic Guidelines and Tactical Practices of the Parks and Countryside Service

Strategic Strengths and Weaknesses

Despite the emphasis on the tactical management of public space PCS have a well developed machine for developing strategic policy guidance in the form of a small

'Green Spaces Strategy Team' set up primarily to deliver the PGSS. These project officers were in post from April 2002 until March 2004 and have led to the development of other ancillary strategic documents discussing a range of issues including antisocial behaviour (Bray 2004), planning (G.S.S.T 2004b)[22], quality (G.S.S.T 2004a) and sustainability (Porter 2004).

As there is very little green space in the city centre this is reflected in the approach taken to the city centre by PCS. Most important in this raft of strategic guidance is the Parks & Green Spaces Strategy (N.C.C 2003a)[23] which identifies a typology of green public space (figure 14 & 15).

The PGSS allows for only one form of hard surfaced public space in their assessment, classifying pedestrian areas as 'civic spaces'. It also oversimplifies the mixed-use of space and underestimates the potential impact of varying interpretations of use in situ by users through time; showing a lack of insight into what as space such as OES can mean – a lot of different things to a diverse collection of user demographics. Whilst this is a general point and can be applied across all subgroups to different extents it is only here, in the PGSS, that it is made explicit by a spatial typology.

As seen in chapter 6 OES is one space with four broad different conceptual interpretations. Under the guidelines of this typological framework it is in at least 3 of these; it is an *amenity space* being used recreationally by those who work in the city centre for lunch breaks and relaxation. Secondly as an area of '*play and social interaction*' for youth and thirdly as a space of '*quiet contemplation*' of the war memorial for the older users and the Ex-servicemens Association (see chapter 9). Further to this repeated attempts have been made by other elements of NCC to treat and manage OES as a park and garden due to the '*high quality opportunities for informal recreation and community events*' inherent in the location.

Open spaces

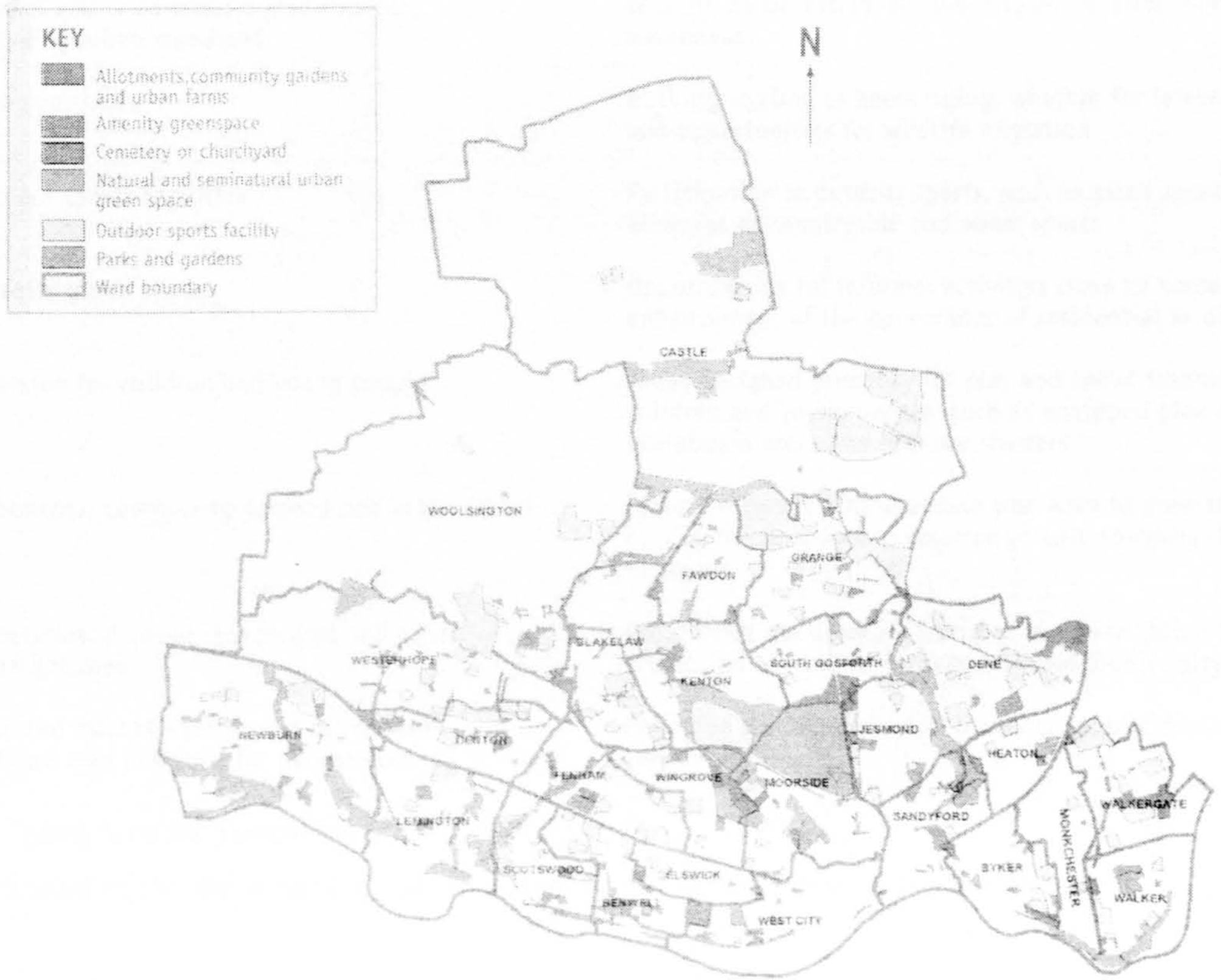


Figure 14 - Typology of Newcastle's Public Spaces from the draft Parks and Green Spaces Strategy (2004: 43)

	PPG 17 Typology	Primary Purpose
Green Spaces	Parks and gardens	Accessible, high quality opportunities for informal recreation and community events
	Natural and semi-natural green spaces, including urban woodland	Wildlife conservation, biodiversity and environmental education and awareness
	Green corridors	Walking, cycling or horse riding, whether for leisure purposes or travel, and opportunities for wildlife migration
	Outdoor sports facilities	Participation in outdoor sports, such as pitch sports, tennis, bowls, athletics or countryside and water sports
	Amenity green space	Opportunities for informal activities close to home or work or enhancement of the appearance of residential or other areas
	Provision for children and young people	Areas designed primarily for play and social interaction involving children and young people, such as equipped play areas, ball courts, skateboard areas and teenage shelters
	Allotments, community gardens and urban farms	Opportunities for those people who wish to grow their own produce as part of the long-term promotion of sustainability, health and social inclusion
	Cemeteries, disused churchyards and other burial grounds	Quiet contemplation and burial of the dead, often linked to the promotion of wildlife conservation and biodiversity
Civic Spaces	Civic and market squares and other hard surfaced area designed for pedestrians	Providing a setting for civic buildings, public demonstrations and community events

Figure 1: Green space categories, taken from the Companion Guide to PPG 17.

Highway verges have not been included in the above typology and this strategy will consider them in the final document.

Figure 15 - Table draft explaining typological definitions of green space (Draft PGSS 2004: 42)

Here it is clear that the representations of space in the PGSS are deeply problematic, at once covering many of the different representational spaces of users but not able to dynamically cross between these in assessing mixed-use in situ.

This critically underestimates the extent to which spaces are appropriated through use dynamically (Miles 2003b, 2003a)[24] reinforcing the conceptual representations specific to those ideas developed by designers (such as PTD / City Design). This of course will lead to gaps in wider the spectrum of provision as the way in which people use spaces do not map up to the way in which they are managed. Such tensions inform the conceptual approaches to OES as a public space by PCS.

OES is not treated tactically as mono-functional in practice but appears to be conceptually represented as having a singular dominant use-value via the definitions applied to public space in the spatial typology[25]. Whilst some users see OES as a war memorial or sacred space others see it as a park, others again as a plaza. The managerial structure here reflects the dominant concept to be that of the memorial space. There is a general lack of a conceptual focus for public spaces beyond this problematic 'amenity space' in the city centre in PCS.

Tactical Strengths & Weaknesses

PCS are responsible for convening a panel who, under the title Old Eldon Square Working Group (OESWG), support this concept and have been linked to several negotiations over what can be seen as acceptable activity in this area, comprising of interested council officers across a number of services and directorates, local police and representatives of the Ex-servicemens Association (see chapter 9 for more details).

An example of how these concerns and activities combine can be seen in the development of a skate park on the periphery of the city centre. This required over 18 months of lobbying, consultation and work with the local youth community as well as extensive work with third sector charitable agencies[26]. It can be argued that PTD combined the need to relocate skaters out of city centre public spaces, in line with commercially driven strategic needs for locations such as OES and Haymarket, but

not through exclusionary displacement. This occurred through a natural dispersal occurring as a result of spatial provision.

The representations of space from within the council focussed largely upon the disrespect of youth for the memorial, and the affront to veterans, however this manipulation of the representations of space does not hold up in practice when the veterans are addressed directly (see chapter 9). PCS has more direct contact with users such as the veterans through these mediums, and as such becomes more central to the study through conceptual foci, but also through its tactical practices, than it at first appears. Hence the reflection of a more people and use-oriented approach than others (see consultation 7.2). Implicit in spatial representations, however, it is still constrained by prescriptive conceptual use-values and a lack of a strategic awareness of managing mixed-use in public[27].

Youth provision, for example, is largely located in the neighbourhoods and communities of the city (see PYS below), the city centre as a network of public open space seems to be peripheral as a concern, or ignored by PCS as a part of their remit in terms of management and provision due to the nature of the spaces within it as 'civic' or 'amenity spaces' not 'green' or 'play spaces'. This is highlighted here due to the comprehensive nature of the PCS strategic framework which, whilst flawed in its approaches to use, appears to underpin wider conceptual approaches to public space across other subgroups in the city council; meaning that the limited understanding of dynamic mixed-use extends into other areas of urban management.

Finally, it is acknowledged in several places throughout the PGSS that there is a need to improve consultation with *all* areas of the community, but particularly more meaningful consultation with young people. Making people feel as if giving their opinion is going to have a realisable effect on the outcome of provision is important, particularly for socially excluded or disillusioned groups. Involvement in the decision making process is seen as key to this but little is said on how this may be operated as a tactic for improving hegemonic relations. This is interesting since, despite its strengths, this group is not focussed on the city centre, and whilst it is linked to several key panels which affect OES its role in the redevelopment has been minimal.

The Ward Councillors

As stated earlier the structure of NCC is not the key concern here but elements of its institutional structure are important to understanding the direction of conceptual approaches to the public. The Ward councillors as a collection of democratically elected representatives are the political face of NCC[28]. To avoid bypassing the nature of NCC as a political institution the role of the ward councillors as a key intermediary between subgroups in the development of concepts and strategies must be addressed.

Economy is high on the conceptual agenda in the city centre, as noted in the CCAP. The city centre as a whole has been directly affected by this economic concern and is seen by councillor from the Moorside ward as economically not socially driven:

'I still think for the long term view of the city is as an economic driver...as I say with all towns and city centres the main driver has become the economic one rather than anything else.'

A by-product of partnership-led governance is that businesses and the economic concerns that they bring into any discussion of strategy are not streamed through a government liaison, they are fed directly into strategy by representatives of key businesses in the city centre. It can be suggested that this has skewed the emphasis of

Institution / Subgroup	**Main Strategic Policy Documents** (Affecting OES)	**Main Managerial tactics** (Affecting OES)
Ward Councillors	Non-Specific, linked to all policy documents through proof reading and review. *e.g. Party Political Manifesto* *e.g. CCAP*	Full-filling the public needs by: • Be available for the public as a point of contact for concerns / complaints. • Liaising with key actors to communicate these needs in panels and committees • Lobbying for / implementing byelaws for spatial management.

Table 6.The main strategic guidance and tactical practices of Ward Councillors

documents such as the CCAP in favour of business interests. Further, whilst the Ward Councillors represent the point of contact for the general populous, businesses increasingly have the option to liaising with dedicated officers such as the CCM. Arguably this designifies the role of the councillors, cutting them out of their position as a liaison between the government and the businesses, as constituents, on matters of policy, strategy and planning (see policy & tactics). The role of Ward councillors in the generation of strategic documents and plans for specific locations is thus diminished as a result of the creation of entrepreneurial partnerships as a tactic in local government, as encouraged by the UWP. The economic emphasis of the plans affecting OES are clearly manifest in the integration of new shopping space into the plans for the bus concourse redevelopment (discussed in 7.2):

'*I think initially it started of with the bus concourse, once the idea of Eldon Square developing new shopping was proposed...but I think what then excited people was the economic development potential of expanding Eldon Square Shopping Centre... Getting more retail space in Eldon Square, if you want, has become the priority rather than the original idea of the bus concourse and as part of that the impacts on the public space of OES have not been given the priority as an issue specifically that it should have. Having said that when you look at some of the drawings for OES and the way that they open it up, potential is there. If you take the traffic out you are still left with what could be very interesting public space in the centre of Newcastle, but there are obviously issues about who uses it.*'

Policy & Tactics

OES lies at the heart of the central ward of the city, which also encompasses most of the Eldon Retail Core[29]. As we have seen through the CCAP the commercial emphasis empowers business interests in the city centre. The business population is arguably consulted more than the residential population in relation to changes at the strategic level.

It is difficult to offer an even conceptual representation of OES from the ward councillors perspective as the input of ward councillors into strategies is often limited to a form of proof reading. As a subgroup in spatial production the ward councillors

are the democratically elected decision makers, linking the cabinet to the council officers to the public. This link is not seen by the some Ward councillors as used in an appropriate manner in the generation of concepts, policies and plans for OES:

'*I made a complaint on behalf of ourselves that decisions were being made about the city centre with no reference to the actual ward councillors who do have some interest, because we get the complaints from the traders. There are people that live in the town centre and we get them saying that a lot of the things that happen on Percy street have an impact on the St Thomas' area or the Leazes Crescent area therefore we should have some input on behalf of local people and be a point of contact.*'

Ward councillors attempt to liaise with the public in order to address concerns in their various ward areas. Many of these relationships in the city centre are with local traders, as constituents, and involve a dialogue on services and basic needs rather than broader civic policy, arguably reducing the scope of consultation between these subgroups (i.e. local residents associations for example are more likely to be concerned about the specific needs of one neighbourhood more often than the ideology underpinning broader council strategy). Despite the targeted power of business concerns through stakeholder access to council officers in steering groups, it is in still in the council meetings, comprised largely of Ward councillors, that conceptual strategies are finalised and fed back into local government policy. However the impression given by Ward councillors is that any changes they slip into policy fitting their own vision or on behalf of specific area based constituents are usually reviewed and edited by officers during the final stages of proofing on plans such as the CCAP, or the Parks and Green Spaces Strategy (PGSS) to fit their own needs from within their own subgroup.

In the case of OES there are many subgroups of the council, members of the business community and general populous that have an interest in the development of plans in this area. Focused through an array of formal steering groups and informal discussions between interested parties and statutory community consultation this is a highly bureaucratic system of communication. Often, and particularly applicable to the management of the city centre, each ward councillor will have a particular thematic interest such as transport (services or infrastructure), conservation or

heritage, accessibility, regeneration, economy, culture or leisure and tourism. This will affect the panels that they sit on and the aspects of concepts and strategies with which they are most knowledgeable whilst officers within the council are more oriented on particular schemes as opposed to thematic interests, this further complicates communication between the two groups.

The steering group responsible for planning the bus concourse on OES does for example involve Ward councillors; though the overspecialisation of councillors in specific fields can lead to a host of problems. In this instance the councillor did not attend meetings regularly enough to have a strong impact:

'*I was invited to take part by the leader of the council who convened this. I must admit once this thing was set up I haven't really been that involved since; other than the fact that I was on the Highways and Transportation committee when it existed and maintained an involvement through that rather than as a ward councillor because we were looking at the plans.*'

Strategic Strengths and Weaknesses

The nature of involvement in developing policy for Ward councillors suggests that any direct involvement in the writing or development of strategy & policy is often redrafted by officers before documents are finalised reducing the validity of Ward councillors input into the final document. In this way only the broad themes for urban development, such as cultural economy or retail growth, remain consistent in terms of input from this tier of management to the ongoing development and management of the city centre, and councillors are often reduced to proof readers of initial drafts. This raises issues about direct consultation and accountability with regard to planning actions, the power balance here appears over-privileged towards council officers and their managers, enabling them to direct the broader strategic policy into specific tactics through design-led activity with little direct and quality managed feedback from the intermediaries, as represented here by Ward councillors. Strategic feedback is generally sought through media output like local newspapers and '*Citylife*', the free council publication highlighting some key issues every few months and distributed free by the council to many homes across the city. In terms of dialogue on translating

strategic guidelines into realisable representations of space this is limited to in-house discussions, poorly attended panel meetings and formal consultations[30].

Tactical Strengths and Weaknesses

A somewhat overly bureaucratic organisational structure implies that subgroups within NCC are not conducive to the free exchange of information. The organisation of specific plans and the distinct separation of ward councillors and council officers appear to complicate the communicative problems of departments and services described above. There is also an increasingly imbalance in the power between civic councillors and business representatives in the negotiation of policy, strategy and plans (see 7.2).

Thematic specialisations amongst councillors, on specific issues or themes, tends to create difficulties in communicating with officers on specific schemes. Also the wide range of steering committees, group and panels, and patchy attendance at these panels by both councillors and officers makes it difficult for both groups to know who to contact in relation to specific issues. However, it does allow for highly focused themes to be developed in policy when successful.

The Ward councillors are possibly the closest of all the management groups to the public. In this respect they have extensive awareness of public concerns arising from this contact without the intense focus of specific targets and projects that limit the focus of council officers. This allows them to have a more holistic awareness of the wider context of urban development and management combined with a site specific local knowledge of the real representational spaces in which people live. There are two draw backs to this; firstly, Ward councillors tend to link with existing residents groups and charitable organisations, this is the political equivalent of consulting the 'usual suspects' (e.g. local Residents Association, local traders groups etc), as consultation it doesn't integrate the entire community and it can be argued tends to over-represent the views of the most active political demographics, directly seen in the actions of many Ward councillors (see skating bye-laws chapter 9). Secondly, the links they do have with local citizens do not appear to be strongly integrated into the

Institution / Subgroup	Strategic Strengths	Strategic Shortcomings	Tactical Strengths	Tactical Shortcomings
Planning & Transportation Division **PTD**	Broad range of guidance and support at the strategic policy level.	Focus on 'white elephant' / flagship large scale initiatives.	Ability to exercise power and drive changes through planning process.	At times intentional lack of consideration for the impact of changes on minority groups.
	Ability to focus goals of policy on realisable initiatives.	Overemphasis on strategic goals and outcomes.	'Ticking boxes' in developing planning proposals / strategic design for regeneration schemes	Selective consultation excludes meaningful discourse with minorities.
	Strong links to other subgroups whose main duties are strategic policy generation.	Over emphasis on strategic goals increases potential for environment to become exclusive.		Lack of consideration for the remits and tactical needs of other subgroups.
Parks & Countryside Service **PCS**	Strong awareness of position of policy in wider strategic framework.	Lack of effort to cross communicative barriers between subgroups	Excellent maintenance programs.	Struggle to coordinate information with action in practice
	Good knowledge of future needs of PCS	Financial pressure on spatial provision	Innovative in problem solving internally.	Lack of meaningful consultation with other subgroups
		Lack of a conceptual focus in the city centre	Strongly focused on spatial concerns.	Potential emphasis on community / neighbourhood at expense of city centre spaces.
Ward Councillors	Awareness of all of the strategic policies affecting the city centre	Inability to control the strategies and plans for regeneration to accurately represent the publics wishes	Ability to liaise directly with the wider public on a range of issues	Overspecialisation in the context of poor communication leads to poor connections between councillors and officers.
	Broad themes strongly developed in strategic policy	Knowledge gained from public contact not linked into plans or policy holistically.	Achieving local laws (bye-laws) to support relevant constituent local concerns	Unbalanced power between councillors, officers, public and business interests

Table 7.The strategic strengths and weakness of the subgroups linked primarily to conceptual strategies and policy

development of strategic policy or the application of managerial tactics in the rational practices of NCC, leaving a hole in the role of an intermediary connection between populous and decision-makers.

The distinct impression given by PTD officers (and highlighted by others outside PTD) is that the driving influence in planning the city comes from this subgroup, leading to criticism that PTD lack any awareness of other subgroups or of the minutiae of tactical spatial management lying outside their remit (e.g. the needs of street cleaning machines, street sellers). This is indoctrinated into the managerial tactics of PTD, effectively designifying the needs of other subgroups across NCC as a whole. Table 7 summarises these issues identifying the key strategic and tactical strengths and weaknesses of these subgroups within the city council.

Confusing Tactics & Practices: Play Space, Youth & Security

The above groups are particularly important in relation to the conceptual space of management, PTD as dominating the production of representations of space through design[31], PCS whilst tactically oriented through activity have developed a focussed typological representation of space through the PGSS and supporting documents and the Ward Councillors, through their role as democratically elected representatives of the public who become internal consultants on these strategic representations; and as intermediaries thus fulfilling an implicit public approval of strategy in this form, despite an apparent inability to affect changes on decision-making through their explicit actions. These are all groups who impact upon the management of OES specifically, but also who are central to the overarching production of public space in the city centre. Feeding from this dominant conceptual level are other subgroups, both within - and external to - the main body of the council, who also feed from the conceptual spatial strategies in ways more related to the management practices affecting public space, and as intermediaries in some ways to the general populous *in situ*.

The strategic remits of these groups creates a distinct conceptual layer of representations, conceptually overlaid upon the landscape of the city centre; defining,

through strategic planning documents, the representations of public space from a managerial perspective. In addressing the confusion of tactics and practices the focus shifts to subgroups that engage directly with youth and security as a priority focus of their remit. These subgroups are more involved with representational lived experiences of public space and the perception of users as opposed to concepts of use and strategic design.

As subgroups both within and external to the city council key actors within the agencies seek to develop both strategies and tactics that allow officers to better understand the *needs* of users rather than the more rational space of designers, architects, planners and these conceptual intermediaries (such as Ward councillors), who generally are seen to target the needs of stakeholder partners (such as the private sector investors). The tactics of these subgroups attempt to bridge gaps between strategies and tactics and link to intermediaries of a different sort (see chapter 9.1). The lived experiences of the city centre thus take a more dominant position, giving a different understanding of the public to that represented above by subgroups like PTD.

As has been discussed above management subgroups do not always act upon the full range of tactics available to them. The following aims to develop a better understanding of the diversity of tensions between subgroups linked to conceptually driven strategic plans and those more concerned with practical managerial tactics.

Play & Youth Services (PYS)

PYS is much concerned with the practical operation of tactics for engaging young people in activities and with youth participation in democracy. The emphasis in the strategic policy of PYS is on these managerial tactics rather than on any conceptual representations of space. This service '*offers a co-ordinated range of services and support for the 5-25s through direct provision and assistance to the voluntary sector*'[32] (www.Newcastle.gov).

Institution / Subgroup	Main Strategic Policy Documents (Affecting OES)	Main Managerial tactics (Affecting OES)
PYS	Hear By Right	Delivering Play Schemes & Services Increasing Youth Participation; this includes issues of: • Access to services & spaces. • Influencing the perception of youth and young people. • Raising awareness of youth issues *in house*. • Getting young people heard by management groups.

Table 8.The main strategic guidance and tactical practices of Play & Youth Services

PYS are the classical local government intermediaries, and the key actors are flagged up later (see 9.1). In their capacity as officers they have far more direct contact with their target demographic than most other subgroups and as such are seen as having a lack of strategic or conceptual documents. This lack of a deeper conceptual agenda in policy is inherent in the activities of PYS, as the delivery of services is much more central to their activities. The spatial management of play is generally limited to youth centres or specific one-off locations, whilst the upkeep of parks, or outdoor 'play areas' in parks and open spaces, are the responsibility of PCS.

Also it is important to note that a large part of the work done by PYS is involved with social exclusion of disabled or underprivileged groups. The misunderstanding in local government of what youth services and play services actually are and can be is critical to understanding the position of PYS in NCC. In this discussion the focus is not on these broad activities, but is linked to the city centre; and the key roles and responsibilities of PYS in this area.

Policy & Tactics

The provision of 'play space' and 'youth services' is difficult to assess given the historical weakness of PYS as a subgroup within NCC[33]. The service has been broken

down, reconstituted and moved from directorate to directorate and consistently restructured several times over the last 10 years of its operation. Currently on an Arms Length Management Option (ALMO) there is a general lack of an understanding of what PYS are and what they are supposed to be involved with[34].

The lack of a focus on public space can be subjectively linked to the dominance of PCS in the provision of play spaces and the power of PTD in developing public spaces. This leaves PYS with a narrow remit within which to attempt any successful delivery of meaningful youth participation, and thus promote the wider youth services NCC are capable of supplying. PYS are seen in many ways as a disenfranchised option for the mandatory consultation of young people required in the development of any new initiative. Further these consultations are often conducted through third sector agencies with closer contacts to the minority populations in question. As a result PYS are increasingly cut out of the communicative loop as officers in other subgroups make direct contact with these third sector agencies rather than with officers in PYS.

This alienation of PYS from the city centre, and general lack of power in the spatial management of youth as a whole, causes problems in assessing both the strategies and tactics of PYS. More in depth discussion of their tactical operations and problems will be developed in the discussion of interplay in the city centre (chapter 9).

Strategic Strengths and Weaknesses

The ongoing institutional identity crisis of PYS leaves many unsure if it is essentially a directorate, a service (or subgroup) and/or a delivery mechanism for youth related initiatives in Newcastle upon Tyne. However it has difficulty fitting into any of these brackets due to the perpetual restructuring of its composition, remit and positionality within the wider structure of NCC.

The broader strategy of PYS is hinged not upon a locally defined plan, as none exists, but on the broad guidelines and standards for youth involvement that only they within NCC adhere or subscribe to. This devalues not only PYS but also any contribution PYS have in strategic policy as youth are tacked or 'bolted on' to other strategies

rather than catered for directly. This oversight is again supported by the lack of institutional structure in this subgroup.

The initiatives developed through the endeavours of PYS have met with a range of success and failure. In interviews with ward councillors in particular, the predominant suggestions made by young people - in consultation with the local Youth Parliament in 2000-2002 period - asked for a city centre youth development and associated projects with the capacity for autonomous management of the facility by young people[35]. However in recent years there has been a malaise at the strategic levels of management of the about the potential format and funding of this provision. Determining the role of PYS in the city centre could assist in the orientation of these ideas. Further more PYS also suffers from poor organisation in relation to the areas with which it must act. The focus is very much on the community and youth in deprived areas on themes of poverty, there is a lack of focus on the city centre as an area used by young people.

The outsourcing of consultation seems to be a tactical decision but it has strategic repercussions. By giving seats up on steering panels to relatively powerless VCS sector groups could be said that this develops a better grounded input of meaningful knowledge by improving links between youth workers and the power structure underpinning decision-making, thus increasing direct feedback from the streets to NCC; but it could also be seen to *reduce* the power of PYS internally at more strategic levels by distancing *their* officers from the decision-making panels and informal negotiations of influence through which the discussion of many youth issues takes place. Furthermore, VCS sector agencies may be seen as pushing a specific political agenda in a way that PYS officers are less likely to be accused of at this level of governance.

Tactical Strengths and Weaknesses

The highly transitory nature of the youth population in the city centre means that young people are particularly difficult to locate and consult *in situ*. Access is often limited to short term one-day or weekend events targeted at a specific demographic or theme (e.g. Grainger town, general youth rights).

The impact of consultation conducted by PYS can be said to need development. The uses of data collected from youth consultation, though this data is at times interesting and useful, are fairly limited. Despite increased efforts to consult with young people the dissemination of the results are often poor, or where they are good the response to youth needs, wants and opinions is lacklustre. This has been referred to in interviews with council members as 'lip-service' consultation, and frequently fails to impact strategic policy or specific initiatives with any meaningful results used to legitimate activities already undertaken.

The communicative barriers that plague NCC exist between third sector consultation bodies and the council hierarchy, but also between PYS as a subgroup and the leadership of the council and/or other directorates and council officers. A problematic impact of the outsourcing of panel membership is that other council officers don't always know who to contact in PYS, as they don't have the more social familiarity with officers in other subgroups developed by seeing familiar names and faces (and networking contact details) at panels and meetings, thus other officers appear unsure who to approach internally when developing youth projects. This leads to youth consultation being done outside of the PYS mechanisms, limiting its ability as a service to get involved in youth related initiatives, and ignoring the expertise of its officers in their awareness of lifestyle distinctions and access to specific youth demographics, which could be beneficial to other services / directorates[36].

Public & Private Security: Concepts of Safety

There are public and private security agencies with an interest in OES. The public agency is Northumbria police force. Within the framework of the city centre this is coordinated by the Newcastle Central Area Command. This group develop a strategic plan for the policing of the city centre each year and are primarily, but not exclusively, strategic in remit. The tactical operation of security within the city centre is linked to the associated City Centre Control Panel (CCCP). This group of senior police officials coordinate and operate the beat and mobile patrols, the enforcement of bye-laws, the tactical operation of CCTV (see chapter 4.2 & 9.3) and the general maintenance of social order in the city centre[37].

Institution / Subgroup	Main Strategic Policy Documents (Affecting OES)	Main Managerial tactics (Affecting OES)
Northumbria Police	Newcastle Central Area Command plan Anti-Social Behaviour Bill 2003/04 Guidelines for ABCs / ASBOs etc.	Maintenance of order in public space, (i.e. Prevention of theft, Protection of businesses and public users): • Beat Policing (foot & car patrols) • CCTV Surveillance • Consultation of users (private & public where possible)

Table 9.The main strategic guidance and tactical practices of Public Security Services

The Private sector is represented by the widespread commercial security concerns that range from store guards and independent CCTV operations in the city centre shops to similar yet distinct operations in other private facilities such as the Centre for Life and office blocks throughout the city centre (see 7.2 for OES example)[38]. These are not discussed in huge depth here as in this research the impact of private security of public space is minimal. This may change however as the area is redeveloped, but this remains to be seen.

Overall, there is a lack of a spatial concept in policing strategy[39], however in regards to the tactics of management and control applied to the public they are the most well defined subgroup discussed here[40]. The key priorities and objectives in the strategic planning of policing the city centre are; Citizen Focus, Reducing Crime, Investigating Crime, Promoting Public Safety, Providing Assistance, and Resource Use[41].

These clearly are directed at the practical operation of policing in the city centre, as such the rational design of space is not a primary concern compared to the social ordering of activity occurring within public space. Thus the strategic impact of policing is felt through day-to-day operations of policing and represented through crime statistics and security awards (such as the Safer Shopping Award for 2003). Such achievements are lauded at every opportunity in management literature and place-marketing media. This is a strong strategic method of increasing the perception of safety in the city centre[42].

The importance of safety and the presentation of clean and safe atmosphere has been emphasised repeatedly in conceptual strategies above. Tactics must thus bridge the perception of difference and the fear of youth crime in the public spaces of the city centre and the protection of private property or commercial interests in practice. These tensions are central to the role of the police in the interplay of different perspectives and lived experiences on OES (chapter 9).

Policy & Tactics

In practice on OES Northumbria police patrol and maintain order in this area, despite the practical responsibility of CSC Security for the management of Eldon Walk for all practical purposes they have a perfunctory presence in OES. A senior police official summarised the role of Northumbria police officers in the city centre as:

'*...they do what general public would call the day to day policing of the city, the uniformed patrol officers dealing with public order issues such as the difficulties we have with the night-time economy, the Newcastle united football match is part of the role, the policing of any major events such as demonstrations, new year celebrations and the like. So it's pretty much a catch all job description for most of the day-to-day things which are happening in the city centre in relation to policing.*' (CIJ)

The day-to-day policing of the city centre as summarised in this manner depicts a broad range of tactics used by the police for the maintenance and control of public space and the protection of private property. This ranges from beat patrol (uniformed officers walking a route through the city) to mobile patrols (marked and unmarked cars and motorcycle units) which respond to various incidents as they occur.

On OES specifically extra attention is paid to policing in this area at 'peak times', the location of a riot van as a visible deterrent to anti-social behaviour is commonplace at weekends, and proposals have been made for further CCTV cameras to cover the area (see 9.3).

The nature of policing OES is both reactive and proactive in different ways. Whilst observations resulting in complaints are reacted to by either targeted surveillance or deployment of a visible police presence; the location of a riot van is clearly a proactive method of discouraging petty crime targeting young people and a way of bolstering public confidence in a secure area. Conversely, it has been stated that a visible police presence could deter shoppers from the area. These tensions are to be discussed further in the interplay of specific actions *in situ* where more depth will be given on the issue of surveillance and security, the difference between repressive exclusion and protective inclusion as elements of youth policing techniques and the importance of perception in the interplay of security and youth (chapter 9).

Strategic Strengths and Weaknesses

Bottom-up policing policy from the Central Area Command shows that the police are much more concerned with the intricacies policing the streets than with the wider policy framework and process of urban governance. This is a double-edged sword. In one sense it enables them to get to grips with the gritty reality of lived experiences and thence allows for a closer connection to the lived experiences of specific user groups. On the other hand the successes of policing are in Newcastle city centre linked to the achievements that can be integrated into the place marketing strategies of entrepreneurialism; in this respect the achievement of awards is used to further marketing strategies for groups such as CCM (see chapter 7.2).

As stated above the strategic awareness of the police is practical, dealing with representational lived realities of the city centre, rather than conceptual, such as design oriented or architectural concerns. There is no solid concept of public space represented in the police strategies or policy; this is left implicit in the legality of dispersal and displacement when applied to the rights of access in public areas. Whilst the police are represented on many panels convened by the council the ability and interest of NCC to react to the inside knowledge of street life offered from this quarter appears limited to specific crime strategies. As such the expert knowledge of the street level lived experiences, particularly linking to the perception of problematic groups, is an under used reservoir of site-specific (thus socio-spatial) knowledge disconnected from local government[43].

Tactical Strengths & Weaknesses

The police demonstrate a tactically oriented approach due somewhat to the practical necessity of their remit. This is creditable, and accentuates the ability of the police to understand the intricate tensions between different interests in public spaces such as OES. This also however exposes a gap in the application of policy to public space. There is a lack of a community sensibility in the approach taken to what is seen as the shopping space of the city centre. The comparatively low residential population, and highly transitional nature of footfall, make policing this area harder than a tightly focussed community strategy, such as those applied to the suburbs. This leaves a void in the tactical management of public activity in the city centre, particularly relating to youth people and rhetoric's in policy linking youth with anti-social behaviour. Policy in this respect does not give the police the tactical guidelines necessary for an inclusive tactical management of youth in the city centre.

Furthermore, the police are sometimes made the scapegoat for the lack of progress in the wider perception of urban problems by the general populous; most frequently with regard to the latest moral panic (see chapter 3) by local groups, such as the small businesses and local traders on the East side of OES (see 7.2).

Whilst the police can be accused of 'not doing enough' they frequently have stretched their remit to breaking point in enabling all groups to fulfil their legal rights to gather in public. The police can take on a more managerial approach to space and new powers given to local officers may see changes in the management of acceptable behaviour in the future, though only time will tell. The exclusionary nature of recent legislation lies beyond the remit of this discussion but again can be seen to affect the underlying rules, and contribute to the potential for a more restrictive definition of public behaviour in line with commercial aesthetics and environmental protection (see chapter 10).

Institution / Subgroup	Strategic Strengths	Strategic Shortcomings	Tactical Strengths	Tactical Shortcomings
Play & Youth Service **PYS**	Adoption of youth specific inclusive strategic policy.	Ongoing institutional identity crisis.	Ability to coordinate a wide range of consultation events.	Addressing the highly transitory nature of the youth population in the city centre.
	Awareness of the needs to bring youth consultation into wider policy development.	Outsourcing of consultation to relatively powerless third sector groups.	Use of innovative consultation techniques.	Determining the role of PYS in the city centre.
		Limited Impact of Consultation at higher levels of management.	Reflexive approach to youth opinions in developing internal youth strategies and new tactics.	Crossing communicative barriers between management groups and between public partners.
Northumbria Police	Strong bottom-up policy leads to close connections and good awareness of the intricacies if lived experiences of diverse user groups.	Lack of a conceptual focus reduces power to act or raise the awareness of this intricate interplay amongst management subgroups.	Most open awareness in practice of equality in the interpretation and application of management policy.	Lack of a focus on the city centre emphasises community public space. This leaves a hole in the tactical approach to city central public space.
		Achievements become used as place-marketing tools, further designifying the significance of the role that the police can play.		Rhetoric's of anti-social behaviour unclear in defining the boundaries of nuisance and anti-social. Potentially leaves judgement of the anti-social as a context specific occurrence under the discretion of officers.

Table 10.The strategic strengths and weaknesses of subgroups linked primarily to management tactics and practice

Roundup of Issues & Implications in the Management of Public Space in Newcastle city centre

What this discussion has tried to demonstrate is that there is a dominant concept of public space in civic strategic policy, but it is subtly skewed through the various strengths and weaknesses of each subgroup. Each subgroup attempts to address the homogenous concept through their own strategies in different ways, these inform the respective managerial tactics and practices for managing public space[44].

Each of these strategic polices adds another level of conceptual interpretation to the original singular concept, which is skewed further through the lack of cross departmental communication and the specialisation of managerial responsibilities around specific initiatives within each group. This presents a fragmented concept of public space in general and of OES specifically as a key and contested mixed-use public space.

To restate the initial task of this section; the discussion thus far has developed NCC as a managerial institution. Also the security partners representations of space, or lack thereof, have been introduced. It is clear from this that NCC is the dominant institution in managing the conceptual representations of public space in the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne, but that this is enacted from within a complex web of documentation supporting the dominant conceptual representations underpinning management rhetoric. At this conceptual level NCC are the dominant producers of spatially aware strategic policy and are accountable for the tactics of maintenance (both physical and service based) of the city centre as a whole (in partnership if not in concert with the local police). The strategic policies they develop inform the types of spaces that are to be created through the urban renaissance agenda in line with the representations of space that have been developed in strategic policy, though these themselves are not representative of the diversity and dynamics of public space as defined earlier (2.1). The city council thus, it can be argued, control the conceptual representations of space as dominated by producers and designers, and are responsible for the '*rationality of planned urban locations*...[and] *the meticulous design of architectural projects*' (Allen & Pryke 1994: 454).

The practical management of the lived street-level experience of public space is also fragmented becoming a 'heterotopy' of concepts as the individual politics and ideological standpoints of individual officers and managers come into play (see chapter 9). This is most distinct between three settings: the planning of the city as a strategic space of consumption (strategic policy of entrepreneurial management); the hegemonic inclusion and thence management of the users of the city centre (the managerial tactics of democratic consultation); and the management and maintenance of the physical spaces themselves (bridging the gap between strategic policy and managerial tactics *in situ*).

For youth specifically where successes and progress have been made in provision it is limited to the suburban communities, particularly through play schemes and youth centres, this is reflected in assessments of policy at the local and national levels (Worpole 2003). The regeneration of parks and green spaces are generally operated on a system oriented to favour the neighbourhood, and this has left gaps in the strategic awareness of youth as active and valid participants in the economic and cultural life of public space in the city centre. This is further reinforced by the emphasis of city centre strategy towards economic growth as opposed to diversity of use.

The result, in relation to the management of OES, is that as entrepreneurialism has begun to take affect the direction of strategic decisions has exacerbated existing problems experienced by the city council in both consulting and providing for young people in this area[45]. Examples of these tensions are shown here (tables 7 & 10).

The inclusion and provision of a representational or lived space for youth as a demographic user group within the city centre, and the inclusive management of their access and use of OES long term, is faced by several problems at both the strategic and tactical levels in terms of the wider approach of the city council to representations of space:

1. **STRATEGIC POLICY / SPATIAL USE-VALUE**

   The focus of strategic policy is on general economic themes. Delivery is focussed on specific initiatives and action plans are generalised from the input

of individual officers pushed through a controlled editing process; this is lacking in central coordination across subgroups; thus the city centre is primarily dominated by these economic representations of conceptual space[46]. Use in strategy is thus prescriptive and limited in most strategic documentation, assuming the intention of the designer will simply occur naturally in public, ignoring the diversity of users and privileging the ideal consumer.

Density of space in the city centre and a lack of open or green public spaces cause high pressure on land resulting in value becoming privileged over use. This exacerbates pressures on the appropriate use-value prescribed in strategy in the heavily used spaces of the city centre. In this context cultural economy often is given priority in terms of achievable actions and realisable goals; catering to the majority in this way is likely to create exclusionary tensions for smaller or less powerful groups.

2. MANAGERIAL TACTICS / COMMUNICATION & CONSULTATION

There appears to be a lack of meaning and impact underpinning the use of consultation (particularly with youth groups) and a lack of serious reflection on the importance of youth to the vitality, economy and general life of the city centre and a lack of consultative / hegemonic infrastructure leads to youth related issues taking a back seat / being ignored in many areas of spatial management. This is not universal across all agencies but it is a strong trend in the representations of space within NCC; affecting both spatial practices and the respective representational spaces of managerial subgroups.

This lack of dialogue between subgroups leads to fragmentation of the dominant concept within NCC; misconceptions, subjective assumptions which significantly affect policy can arise as a result. Furthermore, internal communicative problems are commonplace in the local government (city council), leading to a disjointed approach to provision and consultation. This also affects communication and the relevance of knowledge inherent in the tactical operations of third sector or other public organisations, as such the specialist knowledge of groups like Northumbria Police is not developed to its fullest potential.

This is not to say that there are not advantages and strengths in the various activities of these groups; as we can see (tables 4-10) there are both strengths and weaknesses in the strategic and tactical awareness and activities of these civic managerial subgroups. It is difficult at this stage to apply any intentionality to policies and tactics that increase the potential for the exclusion of youth groups from central public spaces. However, it is clear that the core of the strategic policy and conceptual space, as most evidenced by the CCAP, has driven regeneration towards a focus on the economic growth and this increased inter-regional competitiveness of Newcastle upon Tyne; occurring under the guidelines set out in Urban Renaissance, so much so that the local populous sometimes appears secondary in need to the stimulation of the local and regional economy.

If, as it is suggested here, economy is the main thrust and measurement of success for strategy, then the key managerial subgroups discussed above can be seen as suffering from a fragmented bureaucratic approach to public space. By next addressing the influence and importance of commercial subgroups the focus is tightened from the general approach to public space to the specific schemes for the redevelopment of OES; this allows for a more targeted view of the strategic conceptual representations of public space through this embedded example. Also the extent to which the commercial sector is invested in entrepreneurialism within governance is brought forth.

This section further links the conceptual drift in managerial awareness of the public to the potential for a skewing of the strategic policy, and thus managerial tactics, towards privileging consumption as the dominant valid activity, emphasising the importance of key commercially driven stakeholder partners (such as CCM). The strategic policies and managerial tactics of spatial management affecting the whole city centre can thus be focused through specific initiatives beginning to connect renaissance driven regeneration to some of the changes to the form and function of OES as a commercial public space in the city centre.

7.2 Old Eldon Square: The Commercial Sector & Commercial Public Space

The above discussion has focused on the civic side of city centre management, and on how the managerial tactics and strategic policies of those groups inform the concept of commercial public space in the city centre. This has been linked back to the central case study by applying tensions in the conceptual understandings and tactics of management to OES.

When we begin to discuss some of the explicit tensions and conciliatory similarities and between entrepreneurial management techniques and the commercial sectors needs and wants in the city centre we can deeper understand the problematic exigencies of contemporary spatial management.

Connecting these commercial subgroups to the civic subgroups discussed above and developing the entrepreneurial management of city centre public space in Newcastle upon Tyne uncovers more of the pressures levied at the civic managerial machinery by the commercial sector. This can manifest as explicit demands or more implicit and subtle negotiations around the needs and wants of city centre commerce.

City Centre Management (CCM)[47]

City Centre Management (CCM) in Newcastle upon Tyne has developed strongly since its inauguration in 1996, and has seen one change in post over that time. It currently functions as a commercially funded adjunct to the city council.

The City Centre Management Action Plan (CCM 2000) sets out distinct themes, guidelines and targets to be met as applies to the management of Newcastle upon Tyne city centre. CCM has become influentially integrated into two main interests: the management of the perception of Newcastle City Centre (through its environmental initiatives, promotion activities and marketing campaigns); and the development of partnership-led governance (through its ability to access both private sector and civic knowledge resources).

Institution / Subgroup	Main Strategic Policy Documents (Affecting OES)	Main Managerial tactics (Affecting OES)
CCM	City Centre Management Action Plan City Centre Action Plan (CCAP)	Liaising between Commercial and Civic / Public & Private Partners Promoting Commercial Interests in Civic Management Policy; this includes: • Coordinating private investment in public space & services in the city centre. • Lobbying for changes to policy on behalf of commercial groups. • Strengthening ties between public-private partnerships.

Table 11.The main Strategic Guidelines and Tactical Practices of the City Centre Management

CCM is able to act as a liaison to local businesses for the council, this gives it the illusion of being part of the civic government machinery (it is even located in the main complex of Newcastle Civic Centre) when it is fact entirely privately funded. Local businesses invest in the city centre management as a driver for their interests as stakeholder partners in the city centre. The CCM then attempts to influence changes in the strategy and tactics of management necessary to maximise the orderly flow of commerce through the city centre, whilst investing in the aesthetic refinement of the shopping environment. It is also driven by self-preservation as the tenuous funding platform of sponsorship from businesses, which thus ensures the sustainability of CCM in Newcastle. The CCM is constantly monitored and periodically evaluated to validate this funding (CCM 2000: 3-4).

The CCM is in many ways then a coordinator, investor and privately financed public manager whose sole interest is the environmental refinement and economic development of the city centre; as such it is heavily involved with improving aspects of what has been referred to as 'good house-keeping' in the city centre[48]. The key difference between other civic oriented subgroups (such as those discussed above)

and CCM is that the CCM is only accountable to the businesses investing in it, and is not accountable to the public or to the council.

Aesthetics & Gentrification

The perception of the city centre is vital to CCM, as such they are linked into advertising initiatives such as the sponsored bins (see figure 16) or road signs and heavily invested in the place-marketing and aestheticisation of spaces throughout the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne. This ranges from flags on Northumberland Street to city-wide campaigns developing the retail and leisure attraction of the city centre, thus improving its reputation commercially and attracting sustainable growth[49].

The aesthetics of the streets is then very much a commercial concern, the CCM can be seen as a driving link between the orientation of strategic development in the city centre and concerns in previous research over gentrification (Reeve 1996). Driven by commercial concerns - and accountable to business first and foremost - CCM is the most likely of all subgroups to be accused of exerting a commercial or gentrifying influence on open spaces, such as OES. Towards that end CCM in Newcastle has been involved in organising and dictating codes of conduct for Buskers, Big Issue sales and other street sellers and is linked to the coordination of street activities - such as the jugglers, dancers and other forms of street-based entertainment.

Policy and Tactics

CCM combines several conceptual approaches to OES, with an emphasis on the economic outcome of events underpinning, but not defining, the uses of public space. An awareness of the sanctity of OES as a sacred space is instilled in all management subgroups and is explicit here as well. CCM has been involved in promoting the proactive use of public spaces as a means of increasing revenue from the city centre extending to the leasing of public spaces to companies for advertising campaigns on a short term basis. This has been seen predominantly on Northumberland Street, near the Haymarket, with N-Gage mobile e-information booths, Tango giveaways, Blood Donor vans and other activities. However the City Centre Manager is aware that this form of activity would be seen as inappropriate for OES, and moves have been made

unsuccessfully on several occasions to develop closer ties to more traditional activities such as the Farmers market based on Grainger Street nearby to the South, but these have eventually remained on more neutral space[50].

Discussions of accessibility in CCM are limited to transit and parking concerns rather than spatial and equality concerns. However, issues such as disability and architecture are included in the improvement plans. The awareness of disadvantaged groups is limited in this way to mobility (friendly for wheelchairs) and security (unfriendly for crime) concerns. There is an emphasis in approaches to crime in the city centre on the crackdown on anti-social behaviour, a well used rhetoric in social management reflected in managerial tactics of security, as well be discussed below and in relation to youth specifically (chapter 8 & 9).

Figure 16. Wastebin with councils new litter policy on Northumberland St. 2004

The power of CCM to enact large scale change under its own remit is limited. Through its agenda and the firm budgetary restraints of the position it can only effectively invest in aesthetic environmental improvements such as floral displays (which themselves have won awards in Newcastle city centre) but it does act as a strong lobbying agent for private and commercial interests. This is a useful tool for civic managerial subgroups particularly in the attraction of investment into regeneration strategies by private stakeholder partners and in developing closer partnership-led management tactics that arguably favour the needs of the commercial sector over the wider populous. The suggestion is that hegemonic exchange with the private sector is becoming more dominant than public consultation in the city centre. This is particularly relevant due to the continual push in strategy towards partnership involvement and the commercial influence that could develop from Business

Investment Districts (see 4.1), which have yet to be applied to Newcastle upon Tyne though pilot locations are sometimes informally discussed, and are on the agenda of CCM.

Strategic Strengths & Weaknesses

The coordination of place-marketing is central to the role of CCM, developing the advertising and promotion of Newcastle City Centre this approach encourages '*...embracing retail, business and professional activities, events and entertainment...*' (CCM 2000: 4). Environmental improvements to this end directly affect the management of the city centre, improving the safety, cleanliness and accessibility of the facilities '*...incorporating environmental and accessibility issues, the positive promotion of anti-crime related initiatives, together with all other elements to meet consumer demand.*' (ibid: 4-5).

Sustaining & improving CCM is also a central issue. In order to increase the validity and sustainability of CCM links must be improved between the public-private stakeholders in the city centre, income generation for CCM, and the creation and maintenance of a steering group from these stakeholders which takes the form of '*fundraising, membership development and relationship building*' (ibid: 7).

Tactical Strengths & Weaknesses

Coordinating better Stakeholder Communication as suggested above allows CCM to liaise between a variety of public and private partners in attempts to develop inclusive financing for CCM activities, and direct management of the city centre to the benefits of key financiers.

City Centre Management in Newcastle is also able to develop connections with other subgroups and access all panels relating to the city centre through the key agent, the CCM. By linking into other groups an individual is much more versed in the connections between these panels than the diverse officers and councillors who are spread across specific schemes and interest themes.

However, the nature of environmental 'improvements' made by CCM has drawn heavy criticism; by engaging in 'improvement' CCM has been linked to gentrification and privatisation (Reeve 1996). This has led to connections between the excessive regulation of activity, such as controlled busking and street entertainment, and the exclusion of some activities, such as skating and performance art, from city centres (Flusty 2000)[51].

There are, however, many other harmless impacts on the urban environment that come from aesthetic regeneration; such as the location, funding and care of flower displays in partnership with civic subgroups (Neighbourhood services & PCS). These can be simply aesthetically pleasing or can commemorate some aspect of Newcastle's history, present of future in the interests of place-marketing the city centre. It appears that entrepreneurialism is embedded within this subgroup to such an extent that it cannot be comprehensively separated from this ideology underpinning it strategy and its more tactical activities.

Institution / Subgroup	Strategic Strengths	Strategic Shortcomings	Tactical Strengths	Tactical Shortcomings
City Centre Management **CCM**	Ability to capitalise on commercial emphasis of CCAP. Can integrate centrally focused strategic policies into CCM agenda.	Over emphasis on the city centre suggests a disjointed affect on wider strategic policy framework.	Ability to focus investment into realisable aesthetic environmental improvements.	Inability to apply public consultation democratically.
	Ability to affect changes in policy framework to favour commercial interests, needs & wants.	Commercial funding raises questions over the democratic accountability & long term sustainability of CCM.	Ability to influence civic government despite reality of being a privately funded institution.	Sustainability is dictated by performance in the eyes of investors not by the council or by local citizens

Table 12. The strategic strengths and weakness of the subgroups linked primarily to commercial interests through the office of CCM

Blurring Public / Private Distinctions: Ownership of Old Eldon Square

CCM is a key point of liaison for business but there are several facets to the commercial interests that affect OES. There appears to be two distinct groups in relation to the strictly retail understanding of OES, these are Eldon Square Shopping Centre (in the form of the stakeholder partnership and management team) and the smaller local businesses and specialty retailers as tenants of the remaining converted Georgian Terrace. The ownership of OES itself is however divided between all of the key *managerial* actors (figure 17). Simply put it breaks down in this format:

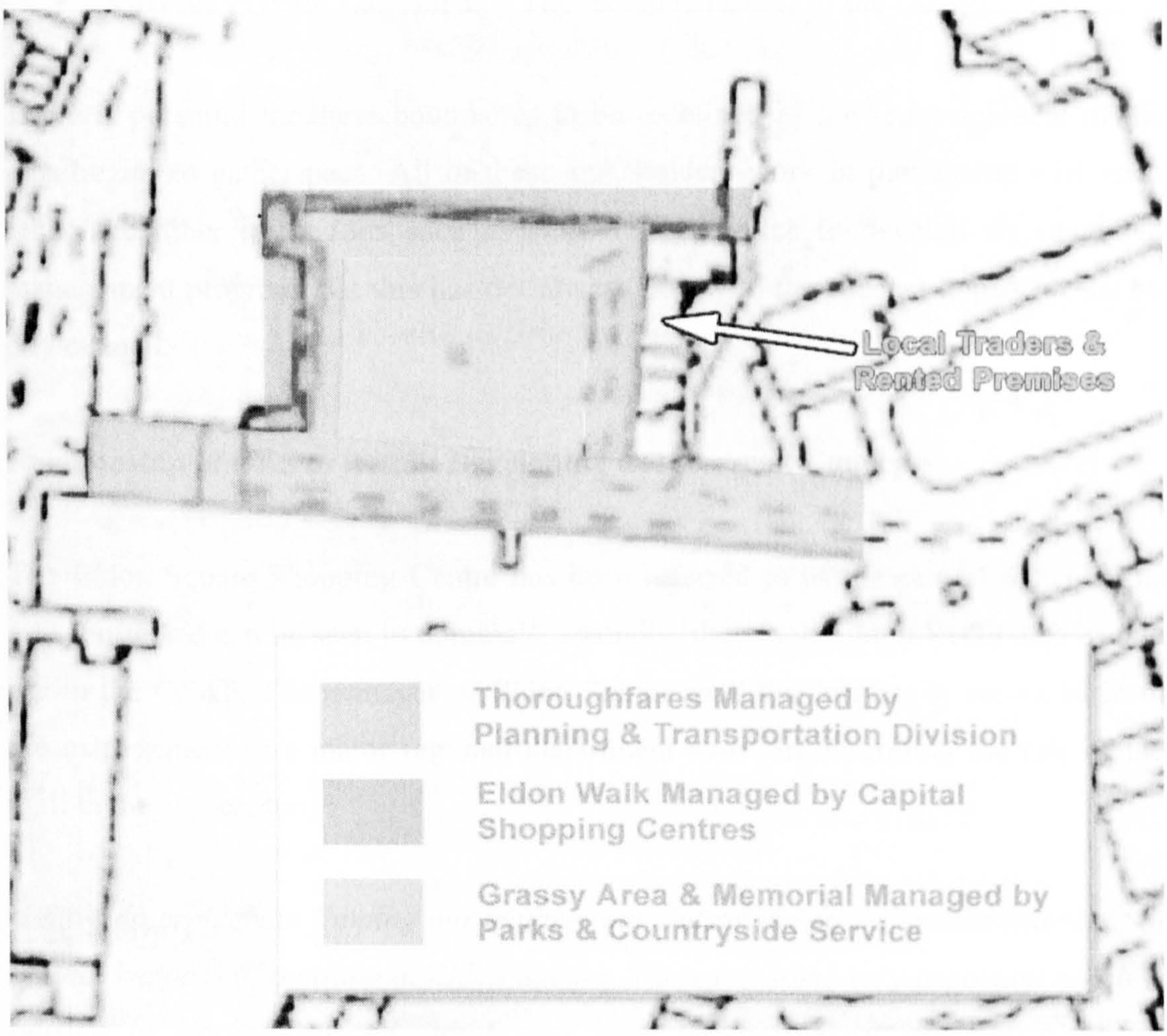


Figure 17. Map depicting managerial / ownership & responsibility for Old Eldon Square

- **Eldon Square managerial partnership (Capital Shopping Centres / CSC, NCC & Shell Pensions Trust)** - Eldon Walk and flower bunkers attached to the Eldon Square Mall complex (made of red brick)

- **PTD / Highways Service** – Walkways at ground level surrounding the square, this includes the Blackett street pavements and pedestrianised areas on either side and the paving running up to but not surrounding the memorial.

- **PCS** – The grassy area and the monument itself, the paving and the barriers surrounding it.

- **Various Private Landlords** – The rented tenancies of the Georgian terrace.

There is potential for these boundaries to be redefined as the redevelopment of the area begins to gather pace. All of these stakeholders work in partnership with each other and other institutions such as Northumbria police to develop an integrated management program, but this has not always met with the success hoped for the by city council.

Relationship of OES to Retail: Developing Commercial Concepts

The Eldon Square Shopping Centre has been referred to as the central focus of the city centre and can be seen to dominate, spatially, the whole Eldon Retail area as laid out in the CCAP. The manager of Eldon Square mall was originally seconded from the management of a major regional department store. In describing the role of the mall in the city centre:

'I have no problem in flipping our feathers out and saying so we are the heartbeat of all that happens in retailing at Eldon Square. There are some very important retailers outside in Northumberland street, you have the peripheral areas and they've developed tremendously and just add onto the offer around Grey Street, Market Street into where the old Bainbridge's was, the market culture with the Grainger Market its all part of the total offer going down into Newgate Street, Grainger Street,

Woolworth's are down there. That's the offer but this is the heartbeat, has to be because of the quality of retailers that's where the draw is, the transport links all come into Eldon Square primarily you've got the bus concourse which is below the shopping centre and you've got two major metro stations serving Eldon Square, Greys monument actually links in physically to the shopping centre and the Haymarket at the top end of the city is the stopping off point for the north end then you have 1800 car parking spaces physically joined to the shopping centre, if that isn't the heart of the whole retail world in Newcastle then I don't know what is so that's what we provide and that's how we see ourselves as our complex as part of the retail offer of the city we occupy 40% of the total retail space in the city.'[52]

The pressure put on OES by this space has influenced the perception of the area, and thus the concept for its redevelopment and spatial management in the future are closely linked to the future of the mall.

Physical links between Old Eldon Square & Eldon Square Shopping Centre

Though this was touched upon earlier (6.2) the connections between the mall and the square were not made explicit. It is useful to revisit these here in order to highlight the potential impact of the changes proposed in the three scheme redevelopment plan.

There are four physical links to the square from the mall; three of which are currently active. The entrance through the George and Dragon pub in the centre of the north face was closed with the pub in 1999-2000 (see figure 18). Two are in the north-east and north-west corners respectively at either end of Eldon Walk. Eldon Walk is the promenade that runs along the back of the Boots the Chemist store on the 1st floor level.

Figure 18. View of entrance to George & Dragon Public House 2003

What is unusual about this promenade is that although it is under cover the side facing the square is exposed so it gives an external view of the square, the importance of this will be returned to in the next chapter on use and activity.

The remaining entrance into the square is on the southern side of the square across Blackett Street, located centrally, opposite the war memorial. This gives access to the shops in the south end of the square and through access can be obtained to the Grainger Market and Green Market, acting as a gateway into Grainger Town and the southern end of Newcastle's retail area.

The Bus Concourse

The bus concourse underneath the Eldon Square Shopping Centre is a pivotal point in the city centres transport network and is integrally linked to the redesign and regeneration plans in the OES area. This area from Prudhoe Street to Blackett street including, the bus concourse, Old Eldon Square, and the southern access into south Eldon Square Mall has been a problem area for planners since the opening of the shopping centre in 1970. As part of the decline of the city centre (see 2.2) this area fell prey to the malaise of maintenance and image along with other aesthetically barren areas, but has recently through a series of bus concourse redevelopment proposals, been given a reinvigoration with a view to improving the bus stations environmental appeal and reintegrating OES back into the city centre.

The possibility of a relocation of the concourse to the rear of the mall created the possibility of using the empty space under the shopping mall as retail space and linking this retail into OES. As conceptual representations of OES shift it could become at once a public recreational space, a thoroughfare for buses and pedestrians *and* a commercial space. This was seen as an enticing option in terms of the potential for both environmental improvement and economic growth in the area; as discussed here by a key actor from PTD:

"... above the bus concourse we have a very good quality environment but go down those escalators and you come to this hell hole. ... they had done a bit of radical thinking really and they said "Look your never really going to be able to solve the

inherent problems of that bus station which are that its underground, poorly lit, poorly ventilated and it doesn't look very attractive, it looks insecure, why not move it out". If you move it out into the open air or the semi open air then you can help pay for that bus station by filling in the old one with retail."[53]

The integration of the bus concourse with two retail redevelopment plans for Eldon Square Shopping Centre / Mall became central to the redevelopment plan. The partnership of Capital Shopping Centres (CSC), Shell Pensions Trust and NCC at this level seems to have been a gambit used in the attempt to attract capital investment for the linked projects from the national government budget for 'major schemes' under Department of Transport and local transport planning guidelines. This linkage was seen as attractive to this form of funding for a joined up approach to partnership development and its links in transport planning. The link is seen as ground breaking because it tries to develop both transport into and out of the city centre as well as the pedestrian transit into and footfalls moving through the OES area. This financing, if approved, would help to minimise the cost to private investors and raising the profitability of the venture for all stakeholder partners.

Also the coordination of economic concerns in this way serves to show that there *has* been a general drift of strategic planning by the Planning and Transportation Division of NCC towards the appreciation of more economic and commercial concepts as demonstrated in the broader strategic policy of the CCAP, and here in a more focused form through planning proposals for the city centre. A representative of PTD when questioned on the intentions underpinning the integration of retail into the concept of OES:

'CSC came up with the idea, with I would say quite a lot of coaxing from the city council, to sort of reanimate OES when we were talking about the design of Eldon Square shopping centre in total. We felt, and were concerned, that the whole shopping centre, being designed in the 1960s and built in the 1970s, was very inward looking there was a lot of adverse publicity - and there still is - about what it did to OES. Knocking down the grade II listed buildings.'[54]

The ethos and experience of consumer space has changed since the 1970's (see 2.2), and the attitude towards the nature of changing shopping demographics and their spatial needs by the management of the centre reflects this:

'*The impetus behind shopping centre developers at the time was that once you get the customers in don't let them out, have as few doors as possible and don't let them bleed out of the shopping centre, bleeding is a bad thing as far as the retail trade are concerned and so you'll see lots of blank brick walls around the outside. But if you appraise some of the city centre streets and if you look on our walls on the way out you'll see a lot of photos of the city streets that it replaced, that gave the city council a lot of control as we had to agree to the stopping of the public highways ... there was an agreement that new streets in the sky would replace the ones on the ground and the malls were taken over as not public highways, but as what's called a walkway and there's a legal agreement, a 'walkway agreement' between the city council and CSC which gives us a degree of control in the management and the activities that take place on those replacement streets, how long they should be open for and that sort of thing.*'[55]

In assessing the need to change the environment of Eldon Square Shopping Centre to compete with new 'themed' and custom built consumer attractors (Hannigan 1998; Davis 1999), such as the Mediterranean village in the nearby Gateshead Metrocentre, a review of the shopping malls environment has been ongoing. This has to date included expansions across Blackett Street and an opening out of the ceilings to let light into some of the more oppressive areas of the mall. As part of the next wave of redevelopment PTD linked with CSC to develop a design competition for the Bus Concourse. This senior PTD representative highlighted the means through which this negotiation tried to stimulate economically-driven regeneration options through this rare opportunity to achieve a more daring change to the commercial core of the city:

'*We were trying to persuade CSC to look at something a little more radical to say well why don't you turn your windows out to the world and have a much more attractive frontage on the shopping centre and take yourself back into being a part of the city centre these being routes where people can just go into Eldon Square when they want and come out of Eldon Square when they want. It sort of coincided with a*

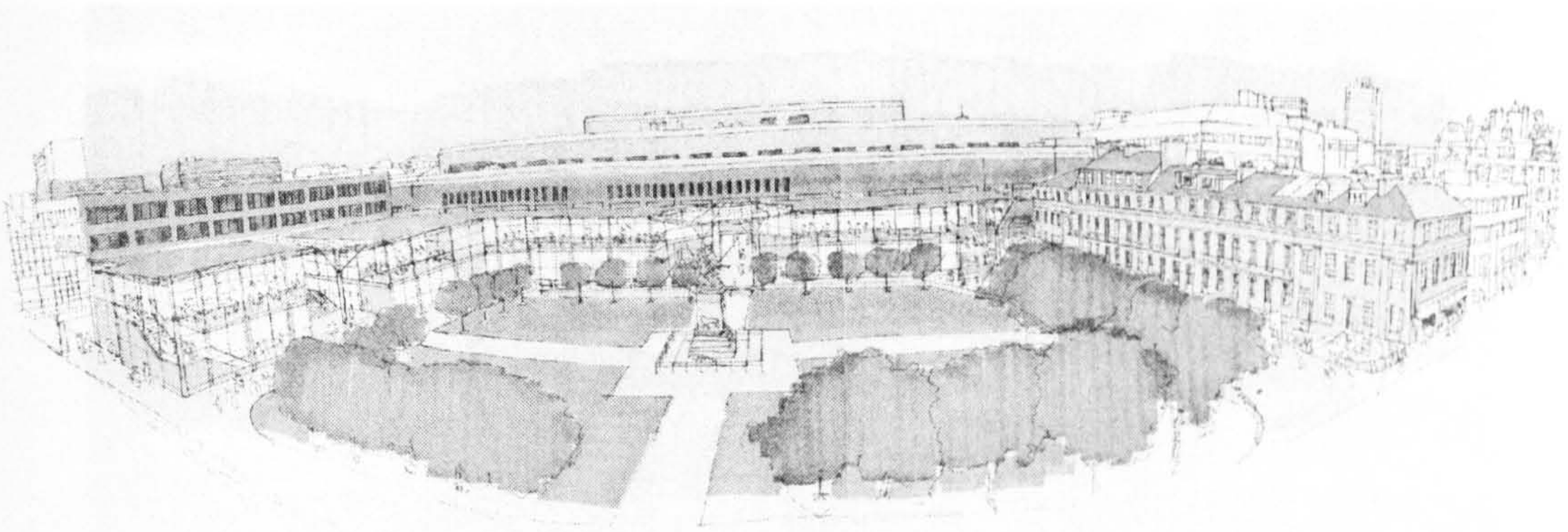


Figure 19.The original Artist impression of the redevelopment plan for the façade at Old Eldon Square (Citylife 2002)

bit of a rethink on their part independently anyway so we weren't pushing for an open door anyway but it wasn't as hard work as we expected it to be and part of that was saying "why don't you look at ways of bringing retail out into the square to give it some interest on the two big blank facades that we've got" because it is a boring space and it does attract undesirables can I say from the point of view of certain members of society, we took some architects along quite independently of the whole exercise and told the to give us a few visuals of what it might look like around the square.'[56]

This original image (figure 19) was released to the public in the summer of 2002 and presented the fact that redevelopment plans were in the pipeline for the central area. This has evolved through a variety of negotiations and consultations on behalf of CSC and NCC into the current plan for a three scheme redevelopment including the bus concourse, Old Eldon Square and the southern end of Eldon Square shopping centre now discussed as the southern Gateway.

Conflicting or Compatible Concepts: Aesthetics and Gentrification

The conceptual significance of these proposals is very important not only to the strategies and tactics of management but the future use and identity of OES. The management of public space in city centres has undeniably seen tendencies, in both strategy and tactics, of drifting towards the gentrification of the unaesthetic or anti-social out of public or at least from under the eyes of the public (see chapters 3&4); to

Figure 20. Eldon Square Bus Concourse
INSET (Left to right) Eldon Square access, Public Toilets, One Stop shop, Stands F-K

but what extent can this be seen as a direct effect of changes to local strategies and designs for regeneration, such as the plans for OES?

Since the introduction of the bye-laws against public drinking in Newcastle upon Tyne city centre and the rise of new anti-social policing strategies (see below) crime in the area and the use of OES and the bus station by vagrants has diminished substantially, as is reflected in the annual local police reports for this period (N.P 2003, 2004)[57]. However, this has still left an ugly and grimy environment in the bus station (see figure 20) and an uninspiring modernist façade to the fortified edges of the mall overhanging OES.

In addition the successes in moving on many of the homeless or vagrant, and increased control of fringe activities, such as street sellers and entertainers (partially through CCM – see above), have led to the focus of public perceptions of anti-social activity being placed on less socially disruptive activities such as the 'problem' of youth (8.2).

Figure 21. Activity warning signs posted at the entrances and exits of the shopping mall 2002

The plans introduced above link the redevelopment of all three spaces; the bus concourse, the square, and the mall, through a 3 scheme redevelopment plan. This combines two main elements of the conceptual representations of OES; as a locus of transit, and as a commercial public space. The emphasis of these plans is not to disregard the war memorial or the open public nature of OES, but to aesthetically improve it thus maximising a prescribed consumer use-value. The essence of entrepreneurially driven commercialisation and / or gentrification in the conceptual representations of OES produced by key actors in management hinges on these principles and become apparent as the problem of youth is discussed in more depth (chapter 8-9).

The impact of the designs, oriented by the entrepreneurial strategies and produced by PTD, defines the managerial representations of OES. It affects the strategic policies and managerial tactics of several other subgroups, particularly in the managerial tactics of security and maintenance; and it appears to be an attempt to orient, centrally, the perception of use and users in other management subgroups (see 8.2). The approach of managers to the appropriate use of the space is linked to this potential infringement of the commercial use-values into a marginal leisured and sacred space.

It has been acknowledged that despite the fact that the city council can retain a certain amount of control over the highways in Eldon Square Shopping Centre they are effectively managed by CSC and CS Security. As such the rules of acceptability in these 'adoptive highways' are set by CSC perception of what is appropriate and will not interrupt the orderly flow of commerce through the mall.

Where this concern bears relevance in relation to public spaces such as OES, is when the rules appear to become similar and the restrictions on behaviour in public space become more stringent than the definition of public space would normally allow. There are restrictions on the nature of activities within the mall as indicated by the warnings on entrance and exit points (figure 21). This has recently been extended to no-smoking throughout the mall, a byelaw which is joyfully disregarded by a wide section of users.

Conflicting or Compatible Concepts: The Three Schemes

The visual representations of the plans for OES come in several formats. Those intended for web-based consultation provided by CSC are aesthetically pleasing artists' impressions seen in their current formulation below (figure 22). The more practical plans produced as part of the planning proposal by PTD can be seen here giving a more direct representation of the areas affected by the three schemes.

The immediate impact can be seen in schemes 1 & 2 respectively. Scheme 1 proposes to extend the pathway into the centre of the grass creating a thoroughfare from the new entrance into the bus station across the centre of OES (scheme 1) and Blackett Street into the new entrance to the southern gateway (scheme 3).

This façade on the northern face could possibly reduce the grassy area in the centre further by reducing the walkway along the northern face of the square (a key bone of contention in many discussions of OES – see chapter 9). From the various artists impressions as the plans have evolved there are clearly several variations of style and presentation as layers of representation have been built up around the commercially driven concept. Despite several images suggesting the outcome will be predominantly of steel and glass materials there is little clear indication of the outcome for Eldon Walk above the old pub or the access points at northeast and north west into the mall. It is from these points of entry that the current flow of pedestrian footfalls is moved around the edge of the central grassy area, by centralising that transit through the recreational grass space there is a question of whether this is a practical maximisation of a 'dead space' or an infringement of the placid orientation of the space towards contemplation.

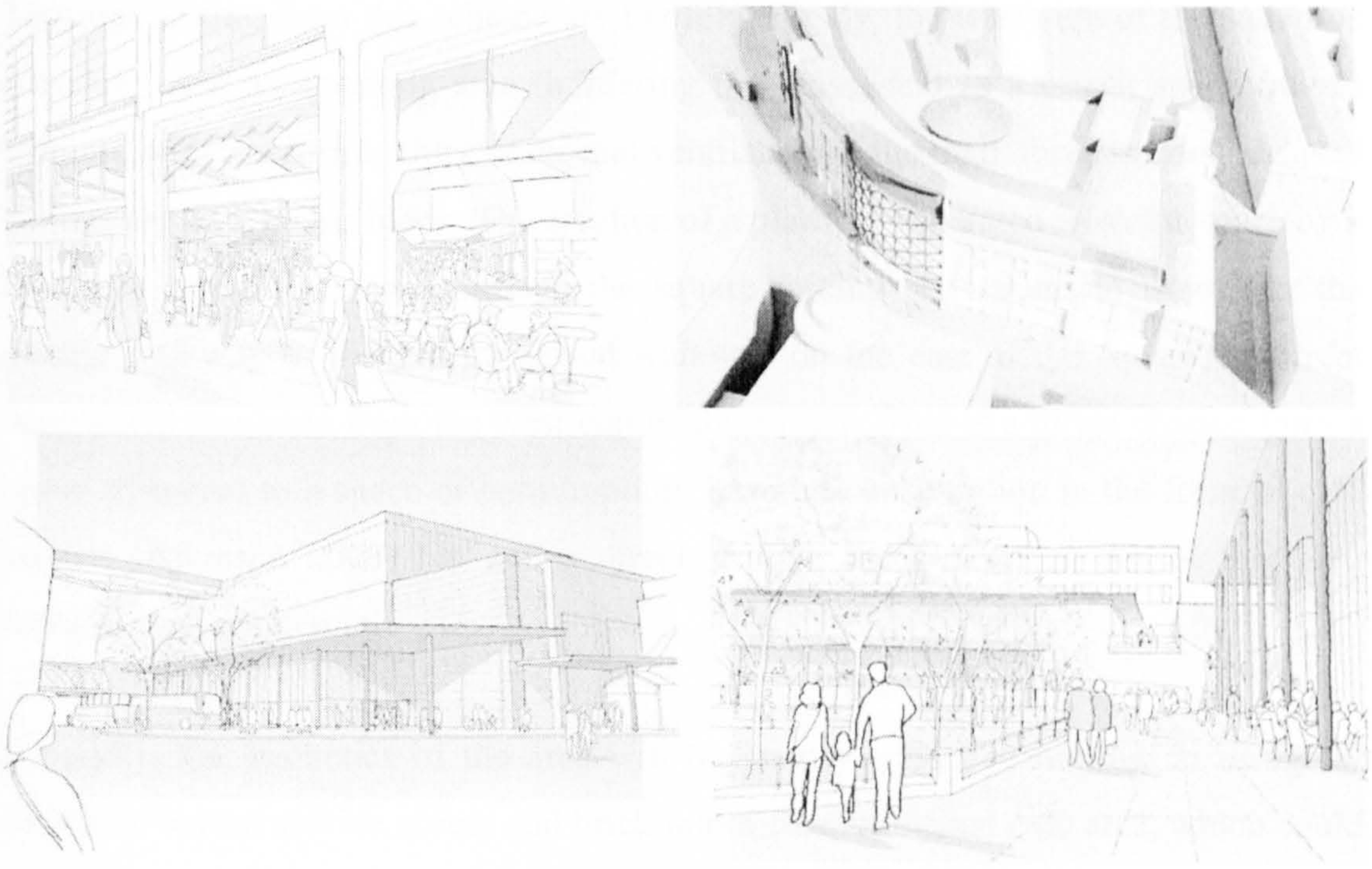


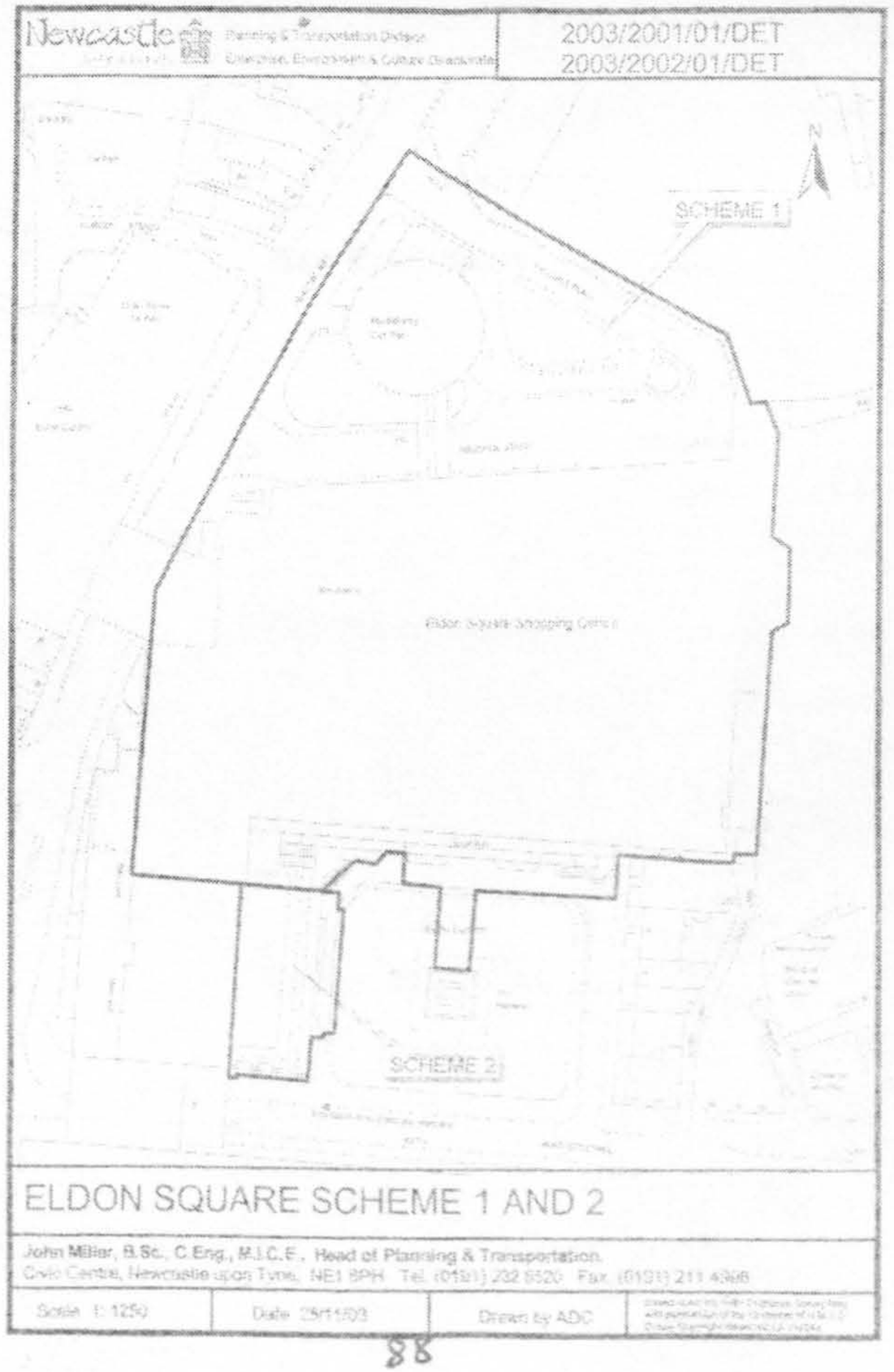
Figure 22. Visualisation of the plans for the redevelopment taken from the Eldon Square website.
22a - Top - Southern Gateway.
22b - Bottom Left - Bus Concourse.
22c. Bottom Right - Old Eldon Square.
http://www.eldon-square.co.uk/pages/development.mhtml - April 2004

The implicit functionality of the plans also ignores the youth groups that use the space heavily at weekends and early evenings completely. These groups have already encountered legal responses to their presence in the form of anti-skating and anti-litter byelaws (although these litter byelaws cannot be said to be targeted at youths as they cover the majority of the city centre – see chapter 8). There is a clear tension here between the transitory functionality of space and the placid contemplation as dominant conceptual understandings of the appropriate use-value of OES.

The second major impact is on the western side of the square where existing pathways are to be separated by boundary from the grass area and raised higher above the ground from its already elevated level to create a platform. Upon this platform the brick façade will be opened out creating a distinctly separate outside area for coffee shops to use as a seating space for customers with an overview of the thoroughfare and of the Georgian terrace on the east of OES[58].

Tensions arising from this scheme are twofold. Firstly, the west side of the square is currently used as a seating area (bordering the grass) and as a transit space (raised behind), with access into the storage and ventilation of the mall, there is also a disused service elevator in this block. The creation of a platform separated from the space by a boundary limits the transit through the square forcing pedestrians to use either the central walkway or the pedestrianised walkway on the east of the square, no street access will available from the west end of the square. This is a direct change from a space of transit to a space of consumption, leisured consumption in the form of café culture (Atkinson 2003) but still a direct shift in the conceptual use of that area towards the commercial.

Secondly, the aesthetics of the area will be greatly enhanced turning an unsightly façade of barred service access and brick into a clean sanitised café area, which could also be treated then as an extension of the shops seating, limited to customers and reducing the amount of public space available in OES. A direct reconstitution of the concept from an unsightly, but public, thoroughfare to a private commercial area. In this way the three scheme plans become indicative of an attempt to redefine the conceptual space surrounding OES to emphasise the commercial and economic



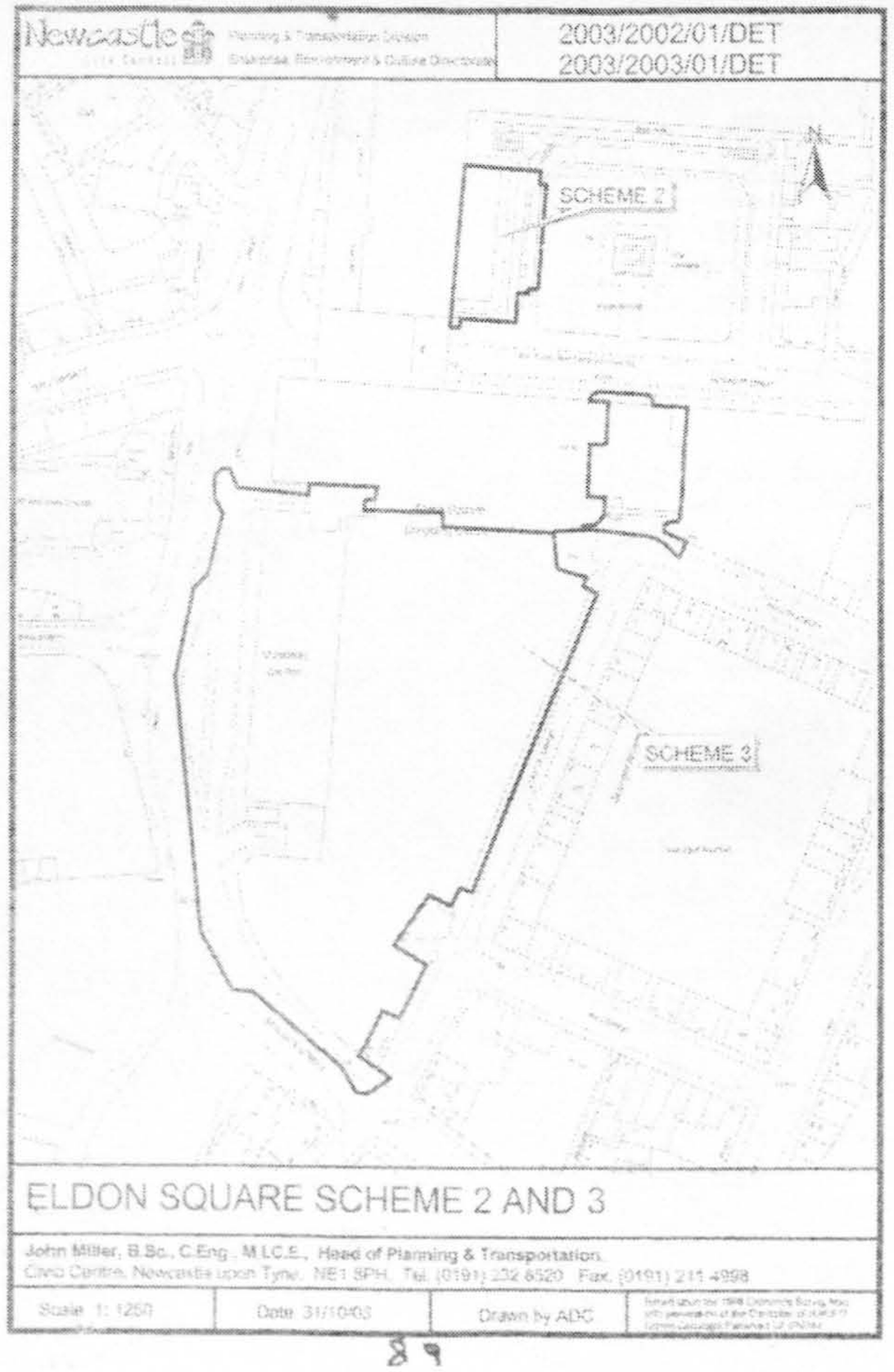


Figure 23a. Left - Plans submitted by PTD December 2003 for schemes 1 & 2, Approved conditionally Spring 2004. Figure 23b. Right - Schemes 2 & 3.

Figure 24a. Overview lower level (2005)

Figure 24b. Overview upper level - 3 Scheme Plans 2005

potential of the space. This effectively creates an increasingly aesthetically pleasing commercial public emphasis over the sacred and non-consuming, but unsightly and marginal, concept of the present.

Smaller Local Stores

A key group that has not been mentioned this far but who have been influential in redefining the operation tactics of management groups in OES are the smaller local stores that act as tenants in the Georgian Terrace on the east of the square.

This terrace hosts a range of businesses that cater to a wide range of consumer demographics. The needs of these stores have been largely ignored in the planning of the new OES, no consultation with them has been undertaken by either CSC & partners or any subgroup of the city council. These businesses are as diverse as the opinions held by the various managers and owners on the use, problems in and management of OES.

Specialist stores on this terrace include; clothing repair and/or hire, dry cleaning, travel agent, jewellery store, specialist clothing, musical instruments, specialist in CDs & vinyl recordings, hair dressers, a small selection of white collar firms, and an assortment of cafés and eateries. Each of these naturally has different concerns about the use of OES (chapter 8) ranging from a broad conceptual awareness of the potential for OES in the city centre and its role as a memorial and public space, as one local trader noted:

'I don't think it's used to its best potential, I think for the city centre they could do a lot more with it. I wouldn't say put gardens on it with it being the Cenotaph when they do parades and such they need the grass that's why they can't start chopping borders in it and stuff like that, but outside of that time I don't think its used really for anything else and I think it's a shame... I just don't think its getting used to its full potential.'[59]

Other traders see the space as an extension of the shopping centre in all but official management or ownership, and it is through the diversity of these approaches to the

conceptual understanding of what the space is that many tensions have arisen in the interests of this group with the agents tasked with managing the square and even other users. A second interview with a local business yielded a very different result:

'*Personally I would like to think of it as a shopping centre rather than having the likes of the Goths sitting and you know having their lunches and leaving all the litter and what have you. I mean for us that would be better in terms of our types of business and our types of customers that we're trying to attract.*'[60]

There are some explicit tensions in the blurring of distinctions between the concept of space help by these groups and the perception of youth uses and activities in and around OES. This demonstrates the dynamic nature of the production of space in action as the concepts and spatial practices interact through the different understandings of appropriate use inherent in what each subgroup wants the experience of OES to be, thus informing diverse representational realities of OES (chapter 8.2 & 9).

Consultation

In developing tensions between the general ideal definition of the public and that represented in the above broad planning strategies and managerial tactics (7.1), to the specific schemes for changing OES into commercial public space (7.2), we have said little about these local traders and their opinions as a member of the wider public community in the city centre. The focus has largely been on the larger stakeholder partners, with their direct access to decision-makers through panel membership and pointing out tensions in entrepreneurially driven governance.

Local representatives are also invited onto these panels alongside stakeholders, but these are often the 'usual suspects' representing local residents authorities and other traditional political lobbies. The cause of the 'Average Joe' is championed by these people who are often anything but. The views of the general populous, even the local traders above, who are affected dramatically by the proposed changes, are rarely given the same kind of access to the decision-making process. It is this skewed perspective of access to knowledge that is represented throughout this thesis as

processes of hegemonic democracy, and is manifest through the nature of participation and consultation. More will be said on this later (chapter 10).

In this context a brief look at some of the issues raised by the main body of consultation carried out in relation to the plans discussed above is required. This is an example of the quality and form of much of the consultation franchised out from the city council. The new processes of submitting a large scale redevelopment plan, linked to funding and other issues, states that the developers and local council must consult extensively with the local community and those affected by this proposed change to the urban environment. This is done in the form of a 'statutory statement of community involvement'.

The Statement of Community Involvement was generated by consultation group, who have a history of partnership with Newcastle City Council[61], from the initial results of consultation activities undertaken by CSC. These public consultation events were conducted by another private consultation specialist on behalf of CSC (Research 2003). This involved four public half-day workshops – with 16 members of the public in each - and two half day workshops with key stakeholders – 5 in the first and 18 in the second[62] - building on the initial plans developed by CSC, Newcastle City Council, the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) English Heritage, and supposedly local traders, as existing tenants of Eldon Square[63] (Anon 2004: 2 - see 7.2).

Interestingly, this consultation claimed to have a mix of usage type involved in the process – 6 people who work on or in the immediate vicinity, 6 people who visit for leisure at least once a week, and 4 who occasionally visit the area – but no further clarification on this is offered nor is the 'immediate area' defined, as such this could refer to a variety of scales up to and including the whole city centre as a nearby locality, this could be why no local traders interviewed had any knowledge of these events[64]. Interviews with consultants and CSC suggested that attendance was lower than had been hoped during these events with a few residents, mainly middle aged,

	Old Eldon Square	
1.	Status of the War Memorial to be Respected	The designers are fully aware of the sensitivity the war memorial and have commenced discussion with the Old Eldon Square Working party, which will continue throughout the design and construction process.
2.	The square should not compete with the Quayside or become part of the drinking circuit.	The intention is to seek middle range family oriented restaurants rather than pubs.
3.	New facilities should be family oriented and affordable.	See Above
4.	Careful licensing required	The partnership agreed careful licensing is required
5.	Varieties of restaurants and cafés rather than bars or pubs	See Above
6.	Should not become too commercial, e.g. not Burger King / McDonalds	See 2 Above
7.	**Listed of houses to the East side of the square to be upgraded** *	Apart from house No.1 which is in good order the partnership do not own the listed terrace to the East side; notwithstanding that the proposals for upgrading the square are likely to include floodlighting which will improve the terrace at night and the upgrading of the other sides of the Old Square will increase the chance of the listed terrace being improved by the owners.
8.	**The Square should be upgraded with public seating, imaginative landscaping and effective lighting – especially floodlighting at night.**	The City Councils Local Transport Plan includes for upgrading of the Old Square and designers have now been appointed.
9.	New shops and cafés should not encroach onto the square and walkways.	The new units will sit above parts of the existing colonnade, but the green space is not reduced. The paved areas around the square will be rebuilt in high quality materials to useable dimensions.
10.	Customers at cafés to be screened from the square.	The cafés will be designed to allow the customers to "spill out" onto the paved perimeter of the square, which will be separated by the green area by a stone wall and low railings.
11.	**Paths to be provided across the square to avoid the grass being trampled. Occasional opportunities to use Square for one off events such as Artisans market, Open air screen or performance area.**	The current scheme being promoted by the City will contain secondary paving to recognise cross routes; occasional opportunities for one off events could be considered.
12.	**South side must not be neglected – success depends on Blackett Street being improved**	The City Council is preparing a scheme to improve the streetscape of Blackett Street

Table 13 – Taken from the 'Statement of community involvement' (Anon. 2003: 12-15)

***Bold signifies NCC input**

the standard '*loudmouths that you get at these things*' (according to one of the council representatives tasked with overseeing the consultation) and a few concerned business people from other areas likely to be effects by scheme 3 (the southern mall redevelopment).

The 'stake-holders' events included those involved in the generation and ratification of the initial plans, a selection of retail representatives (i.e. chamber of commerce and Eldon Square mall tenants), emergency services (local police), and unidentified transport and voluntary groups. Minority groups included here are classified as 'Disability representatives' (Research 2003: 4) and at no time were the young people on OES as the dominant user group included in the consultation process in an official capacity; though they were referred to in the Opinion Leader research through a quote from the public:

'*I think Old Eldon Square needs developing cos I think currently it just brings the city down. And its now an area where you tend to get a lot of sort of teenagers, you know*' (Research 2003: 14)

Whilst not explicit in any way this is hardly a glamorisation of youth, and represents the only mention of young people in this initial consultation. Key concerns raised by this unrepresentational sample of the users of OES can be seen in the table (table 13) where discussion has emphasised mainly environmental aspects of the redevelopment.

Furthermore, the events were scheduled at times during which many who may have wished to participate were unable to attend peak trading periods of July and August 2003. The public consultation workshops were held at an out of town venue, with no transportation or subsidies to encourage participation offered. No issues were raised over the democratic rights of access for young people and the youth groups were not mentioned in a significant way in any of the consultation documents, despite being flagged (albeit at the very bottom of the list) as a key group for whom the benefits of the wider Newcastle Plan was to be targeted towards (N.C.C 2005) and highlighted by external consultants as a key group for integration into the city centre (Huber et al. 2004). Further consultation to append these interests to the statement of community involvement was scheduled for 2005 but the at the time of writing this has not

occurred; the plans have been approved by national government, funding located and construction dates have passed and the initial stages of Stage 1 redevelopment of the bus concourse are underway.

Entrepreneurial Governance or Private Management

There are clear tensions here between what is represented as an urban renaissance driven entrepreneurial approach to governance and, what it is argued here, forms a 'revanchist' (Smith 1996; MacLeod 2002) conversion to a system of pseudo-private spatial management. The main issues arising from the above discussion have been firstly the fragmented strategic approach within civic groups and the nature of the links between subgroups within, and external to, Newcastle City Council.

This was extended to include the police (7.1) - Northumbria police *can* be considered *as* a public agency in a similar way to other subgroups simply with a different agenda and remit - and the local business community - including large and small businesses in the form of CSC and the small local stores on OES. It is the emphasis in the city centre of each subgroups unique production of space and connections through these layers of meaning to the tactics, used for managing public open areas *and* the general populous, that allows them to be included as distinct subgroups in the production of OES.

Connecting the local level strategies for the coordination and delivery of urban renaissance to the national policies (discussed in chapter 2.2) helps to clarify this kind of distinction. Connections can be made in relation to the emphasis of the city centre as a locus of transport networks and a commercial environment that should be kept clean and safe. It can be argued that there is an over-emphasis of the cultural economic functionality of public space in the city centre at the expense of alternative minority groups. These tensions will become more explicit in relation to Old Eldon Square when we assess the identity and activities of youth in the next chapter. Here it is suffice to say that youth are not included as a high priority in redevelopment strategies and this is reflected in the nature of the tactics of those groups closest to the decision-makers and those in charge of planning policy in the city council.

This strategic emphasis on the economic imperatives of city centre regeneration leads to a raft of more subjective concerns around the perception of appropriateness (as discussed in chapter 3.2). In this context of redevelopment, where young people are marginalised from strategic policy how can the efforts of key actors and subgroups closer to youth concerns bring back a more participatory understanding of youth into the management of the city centre and OES? It is clear that the 3 scheme redevelopment is intended to change the main conceptual use underpinning the wider perception of Old Eldon Square (OES) and that this is hoped to have a knock-on effect on the dominant user demographic seen in and around the area, one senior representative of Planning and Transport stated:

'*Yes it's a war memorial but its also filled with a lot of people who don't want to mix with the rest of the members of society in the city centre and vice versa. We wanted to try and create a different mix. We felt that one way of doing that, and its something I've pushed every time I've met with the traders down there, is that we're not going to have policemen standing at every corner to kick the Goths out, what we want is for there to be a natural change a natural rebalancing of things in OES. If we've got more normal people walking through the centre, going through OES and passing back into the centre, more normal activity will be passing through the square.*'[65]

This explicitly states that the redesign of OES is intended to alter the use of the space to one that the young people will not find as attractive and that the increase in transitional population will make the area busier therefore as the area changes around them - youth people are in fact becoming treated as criminal, in the same way as vagrant or homeless groups (links to perception – see 8.2), through the redesigning process; from which they are also excluded (see chapter 10).

This is represented as a good thing for the city centre, under the guise of urban renaissance an increased footfall and aesthetic remodelling of the space complement each other as reachable targets. The concern here is that the displacement of youth becomes a significant issue when officers attempt to design-out young people from the areas of the city centre most closely linked to a history of youth use. Further, if these young people's activities are strictly speaking legitimate and 'legal' then this form of conceptual manipulation reflects a deeply exclusionary method of realising

entrepreneurialism that is inherently undemocratic. This creates a scenario of entrepreneurialism that is not a form of inclusive governance but a form of hegemonic, and increasingly revanchist, control.

The Privatisation of Use-Value

This lack of an awareness of the users of space and of the interests of smaller business in the private and council led consultations could be born from a difference in the emphasis of their interests in the future management of the space. The managers are in control of the representations and conceptual spaces and the shop owners who 'live' and work in OES have a much keener interest in the use-value of OES. This clearly translates into a clear concern for the future of the city centre as a whole that is likely to be lacking in the young people in the area. In fact OES has a long history of youth use dating back to the 1950's and 1960's (see chapter 9.3) it is only in recent years that the inappropriateness of the activities and presence of youth users who congregate in OES have become contentious enough to become a management issue. The Goths mentioned above take the leads in this concern and the other groups linked to the youth gatherings in this area are the skateboarding fraternity and the Charvers / Chavs (chapter 8.1). This tension between business concepts and youth uses will be returned to and unpacked in detail throughout the next chapter, which explicitly reviews and discusses the role of youth in the city centre.

The above discussion has focused very much on strategies of management and their conceptual impact; however this is but one element of spatial production. The second which has taken slightly less of a role in the above is the managerial tactics of managers as a form of spatial practice (action engaged in to realise a conceptual vision) which attempts to interpret these conceptual representations into management tactics for the day-to-day running and maintenance of the city centre, and of OES. The tactical approaches to management can be linked more in depth to the day-to-day interplay on the street and as such will be returned to in chapter 9.

The next chapter deals with youth, their identities and activities and links perception, which has been flagged throughout this chapter as the lynchpin on which reality is

defined. This issue can be connected to the exclusion of youth from the consultation processes around the 3 scheme redevelopment through a discourse of participation, or the lack thereof (chapter 3). These and other issues of perception will be developed in the next part of the discussion.

Chapter 8.
THE PERCEPTION OF YOUTH: SPATIAL PRACTICE & USE-VALUE IN COMMERCIAL PUBLIC SPACE

The previous chapter has analysed the organisation of managerial approaches towards OES and city centre public spaces. This has shown that the emphasis of conceptual space on entrepreneurialism appears to underpin strategies for the regeneration and the management of public space. By making this association the potential effects of public-private partnerships and design-led policies on tactics for the management of public space are made easier to unpack.

The potential tensions that may - or may not - exist between the lived reality of use and the managerial concept of city centre public space in general (chapters1-4) and the creation of a commercial public concept of OES (chapter 7) have been discussed. The decline of the city centre in the UK over the mid-late twentieth century has been linked to the growth of interest in entrepreneurial governance strategies (2.2). These have been shown to emphasise 'cleanliness, safety and accessibility' through environmental redesign (White 1996; Jessop 1997; Bell & Jayne 2003) and revanchist notions of acceptability above more 'people' or 'citizenship' oriented approaches to the city centre (Smith 1996; MacLeod 2002).

Within the empirical case study, strategic policies of the key actors in the management of OES have been discussed in order to develop the tactics of sub-groups *in situ*, though this was kept at the more general level of conceptual strategies and tactics affecting city centre public space (7.1), and then focussed onto the specific commercial regeneration of OES (7.2).

In order to focus the narrative onto OES specifically within the wider network of public space the next step is a clarification of identity and activities of the minority users, as subgroups in spatial production. It is useful then, to place the managerial considerations discussed above to one side, only temporarily, in order to consider the users of OES, in the form of collectively distinct youth groups.

The purpose for attempting to dispel some of the 'youth as resistance' myths of traditional subcultural theory and for spatialising the concepts of tribalism (3.1)[1] has been to develop an approach to youth research that emphasises these specific factors; the collective distinction of '(life)style' (Miles 2000), the collective distinction of activity (Hodkinson 2002), and external perceptions - as well as (re)actions - to these elements of using, experiencing and living in urban public space by key actors (3.2).

With regard to the performative identities and activities of youth it has been suggested that external perceptions of the performance of youth identity can be linked to, implicitly conflicting with, the installation of a design-driven, institutionalised 'normative morality' of public space. In addition, youth activities can be both active *and* passive, without becoming confrontational or based in a theoretical rhetoric of resistance. This approach to young people's use-value sees a more practical activity-led experience of public space as born from within the limited potential for differential reappropriations of abstract space within their lived experiences of the public (representational spaces – see 3.2). One example of this is the 'architectonic' approach to the experience of space by skateboarders (Borden 2000, 2001b, 2001a), as a differential reappropriation of space; this however does not map uncritically onto 'hanging-out' and other more passive activities. As such, another layer can be added to spatial production through the perception of passive activities and tensions between different differential spaces for those engaged in each form of collective distinction. Simply put, it was asked:

How do the groups of young people who assemble in commercial public spaces in the city centre view and experience this space *in situ*?[2]

A discussion of the identity and activity of youth tribal cultures on location is needed to answer this question. Firstly, assessing the youth groups integral to the creation of 'tensions' on OES gives an overview of the how young people see themselves through discussions of both identity *and* activity collected from a wide range of sources. These include; interviews, observational and participatory data, archives and web resources (online message boards). Young people are grounded in the lived experience of space rather than at a more conceptual level, as concepts have been shown to be dominated by the representations of management (2.2 & 7). This

difference in the approach taken to the public is significant to the understanding of what public space is, and what it should be used for.

This research suggests that if there *is* a grounded concept of public space amongst young people the most likely way to develop it through research is to unpack the processes of collective distinction by which young people define a sense of membership to a specific peer group, and then to see if this affects the collective associations that inform where to gather and locate. Further to this tensions between these youth groups as they move through, 'hang out' in and generally use OES are developed to better understand the connection of location and identity in practice (8.1).

The second issue here is the perception of youth and how this can affect the interplay of groups and their interests in public space; to this end:

How are the groups of young people and their activities perceived by other key actors in the production of Old Eldon Square?

Managerial, media, business and public perceptions of youth are assessed, thus offering a means to developing some of the broad collective distinctions around identity and activities from both inside and outside of the collectively distinct subgroups. The perception of young people represented by the media can be used as a tool used for levelling pressure in order to elicit the response sought, or for reinforcing public perceptions on certain groups.

The question of appropriateness is made explicit in the perception of youth on OES (8.2) alluding to the potential pressures and practices encountered by youths as users of commercial public space but also in to the pressure created by the presence of young people in this area. This builds upon the theoretical discussions of morality and youth (3.2), perception as the key constituent of spatial practice thus becomes central to understanding the process of interplay between these subgroups in spatial production.

8.1 Demographic Youth: Lived Realities & Collective Distinction on Old Eldon Square as 'The Green'

It has been suggested that the tight social cohesion of youth groups can be seen as informed by the 'collective distinction' of membership to a certain (life)style (Miles 2000; Hodkinson 2002)[3]. Where tensions arise then in the orientation of socio-spatial management tactics is between the active and passive performance of activity and behaviour in public. Increasingly the perception of these minorities is connected to rhetoric's of anti-social behaviour and zero tolerance policing (Merrifeild 2000; Belinda & Helms 2003). The tensions that exist between youth groups in their lived experience of the city can be related to this through the portrayal and perception of collective distinctions that separate youths from each other, and from other actors in the production of space. This can be seen in a way as the politics of 'the Other' or indeed of 'them' and 'us' (3.2).

For example, when discussing Skaters the boards themselves or 'decks' used by skateboarders have symbolic and practical connotations. Likewise, the exacerbated sense of style in leather trench coats of Goths or the Burberry caps and 'hoodies' of the Charvers can be seen in a similar sense. These often stylistic (e.g. a colour such as black is seen as often 'Goth') or brand oriented (particular lines of shoes / jackets are seen as particularly 'Chav') act as signifiers for others of their group and help to create an informal peer group and awareness of 'collective distinctiveness'. It is also significant that youths are in fact both active as consumers in the city centre and that a large part of their activity is contradictory, such as passive 'window shopping' (3.1).

This form of activity-led life-stylistic distinction makes it easy for insiders to recognise signifiers and thus distinguish between Goths, Skaters and Charvers. Many other groups do not have this reservoir of cultural knowledge and are not as adept at recognising such divisions. As such they have much foggier collective distinctions affecting their individual and collective perceptions of youth (8.2).

At a glance young people seem to have socially oriented concerns rather than any politically motivated agenda, as suggested in much of the Birmingham Centre for

Critical Cultural Studies (BCCCS) research or in theories of the subaltern (Guha 1997; Green 2002). It could be argued that the activities of youth are frequently enacted through a form of 'mass rites' for the use public space, in this case OES, as a form of 'intermediate zone' (3.1). By seizing possession of an area not used, or marginal, to the rest of the people using the city centre young people are able to gain control over this 'intermediate zone' or territory of their own where they may engage with each other autonomously, unsupervised by the parental influences or agencies of social control, such as security representatives (both public and private). Territory becomes part of this; the domination of an area by youths gathering in numbers challenges both the public nature of OES and the balance of public morality within it through the gathering of youths bound by a general, yet stylistically distinct, collective identity in a particular location.

As discussed earlier the collective distinctions which inform identities become spatialised as a form of territory. One way in which this becomes explicit in activities is in the regular use of a space as a gathering point within which certain groups may feel safe, feel certain of seeing familiar and friendly faces and feel a sense of ownership. This can develop to the point where the intrusion of other subcultural tribes into 'their' space can result in tensions. Whilst many believe that the physical conflicts of youth, as seen in the Mods and Rockers conflicts on the Brighton beaches (Hebdige 1979, 1980, 1983), are a thing of the past. This research will show that the reality of these violent confrontations still exist, but on a much smaller and more personal scale, in the lives of young people across the nation on a daily basis.

Distinctions of possession over a specific urban geography or consumer lifestyle niche market are not exclusive to one 'tribe' or group. Goths for example also make collective associations with others; such as Metallers, Rockers or other 'alternative tribes'[4]. This can be seen between the open and friendly relations between Goths and Skaters in Newcastle; there are also crossovers between Charvers and Goths; there are many examples of friendships existing and transcending the collective distinctions established in this research; and as such it is only possible to say at this stage it is generally acknowledged by the public community at large that there are antagonistic associations between these groups when they gather in significant numbers (see 8.2).

The tensions between this perception and the reality of experiences on OES will be rolled out through the following discussion.

The Hippy Green, Location & Possession

In understanding the tensions between the above youth groups we must understand the variations of location based use-values that underpin their activities and thence representations of OES as 'their space'.

OES has long been associated with young people gathering in the city centre, this rose to significance in the mid-20th century and a wide range of people in the public, business and managerial communities referred to OES as the 'Hippy Green', linking its spatial identity to both the fact that it is the only centrally located green space in the city centre and to the use of the space as a gathering point for alternative youths in the 1960's and 1970's. Since that time as other groups have come to dominate the wider youth cultural landscape; The Hippy Green has in turn been colonised by punks in the 1970's, Rockers (ranging from Metallers to Glammies[5]) in the 1980's, and Grunge in the 1990's. Most of the younger users have dropped the original prefix, calling OES simply 'the Green'[6]. Gothic fashion is little different from any other cultural movement amongst young people and in the late 1990's, and into the 21st century, it has become a broad banner encompassing many young people's identities. Still, despite this long history of subcultural use associated with OES, it is only over the last 10 years that young people on the green have come to be perceived as a problem[7].

Defining the Users: Goths

The Nu Rock and Goth styles are related to musical movements[8] with flagship superstars such as Korn, System of a Down and the ever present Marilyn Manson, though his status as a 'proper' Goth have been questioned (Gunn 1999), and in interviews he has been quoted as saying that he is a 'Rock Star' (Moore 2002; Ross 2003). Many young people labelled as Goths are also misunderstood in this manner, in fact not considering themselves as 'Goths':

'I don't know I mean you get called all sorts for dressing this way but here everyones the same.'[9]

This leads to endless sub-categorisations of lifestyle and taste, including slang monikers for the minutiae of differences in each collective signifier[10]. The local and international media caters to this group through mainstream music press but there are an increasing amount of specialist magazines for Goths, such as Meltdown fashion magazine[11] (Figure 32), and a slew of underground and local web and 'online' facilities linked to specific activities or (life)styles[12].

In terms of the products through which identity is portrayed there are close links between the younger and older groups of Goths. In fact many of them shop for clothing in the same specialist store on OES (e.g. Kathmandu). The younger Goths do however place an emphasis on the more shocking fetish clothing (particularly the girls) wearing leather and fur, frequently with brightly coloured woollen hair extensions and steel jewellery based on chains and spikes (there is even a brand of heavy duty boots entitled 'Nu Rock'). Specific clothing lines such as Tripp are selected and stocked by the Goths who work in these stores. These are broad generalisations as the emphasis is on at once being individual and affecting a 'look'; as there are so few shops that cater specifically for this style group this has an effect on the nature and form of fashion on the local 'scene'.

'I don't think Goths everywhere are like those in Newcastle, I mean, the fashion in London is totally different, so's the music that people listen to... but I guess we all move about a bit anyway, go to gigs in other towns and pick things up you know. You see something that you think is cool and then do it your own way.'[13]

The contemporary Goth can be seen as a reworking of previous youth stylistic identities; using aspects of 1970's punk style blended with that of 1980's classic rock and traditional Goth and 1990's heavy metal fashions[14]. Each individual can create their own look and a great emphasis is placed on originality, but at the same time there is often an almost narcissistic emphasis on 'looking good' (hence the significance of specific clothing lines etc.):

'I don't think its about being individual for a lot of those kids, I think they want to belong to the group and that's why they get all dressed up just like we would for going out to a rock night [club]. If I'd been here when I was that age I'd be getting all done up to go down the green and I did used to do it when I was at home. Just we couldn't afford clothes as nice as that when I was at school'[15]

The expense associated with fashion is not isolated to Goths, this is a question raised in relation to other groups in different ways. A very broad generalisation could be made suggesting that this style is typically 'middle-class' in demography due to these financial stability indicated in the consumer behaviour, or at the least that the young people who adopt this (life)style are often used to financially secure family situations[16].

From the general level of pop-cultural influences a large number of youths will be seen wearing long black leather coats, as influenced by significant figures or role-models. Examples of this in the broadest sense are reflected in the responses of interviewees who, when asked who 'looks cool', singled out 'Spike', a vampire on the popular teenage action drama 'Buffy the vampire slayer' TV show, and Brandon Lee in the highly successful Hollywood film 'the Crow' (Barr & Schow 1994), this has been exacerbated by the success of 'the Matrix' (Wachowski & Wachowski 1999) movies and the proliferation of PVC, leather and 'cyber' clothes in the film[17].

Any broad generalisations on identity must be made carefully, in this case, as the diversity of the group makes for a fragmented awareness of identity. There are some considerations that *can* be grounded empirically from the stylistic presentation of identity by the Goths on OES. This quote has been taken from the 'sand-dancer' online web-ring. In this 'virtual' space there is an area for local Goths to communicate using message board services[18]. In this case the subject under discussion is gothic identity this quote offers an example of how some teenage Goths reflect upon their identity (See Box 3).

This is indicative of the fact that the apparel makes 'Goths feel collectively distinctive' and that this sense of separation was fuelled by a sense of superiority over some other groups. A sense of superiority is also a part of being 'Gothic' for some

BOX 3 SUBJECT - What it is to be a Goth[1]

User ID: Gothicliff (Goth)

Getting dressed to go out is a ritual, a donning of armour. When you're in your finest, you stand a little straighter, raise your chin a little higher. You look good, you look yourself, and you know it. You listen to music while you're getting ready; of course, it gets you in the mood. Most people would think it's depressing, but it fills you with joy and wistful longing as you sing:

Don't you worry
They won't find my body
I want you to know
I've found peace in another world
Don't keep digging
I want you to lean back
Away from the place
Where my ashes are buried...

You walk through the streets of your city, smelling hot metal and car exhaust and cheap Chinese food, and people you pass part around you like water, a tall, imposing figure in elegant black, either sharp like a Matrix hero or flowingly dramatic as a dead poet. They are the mundanes, the normals. They cannot even imagine the excesses you enjoy on a nightly basis -- drink, sex, intellect, conversation, whatever your drug of choice may be. They are a little afraid of you, and you smile and speak with consummate politeness to them even as they edge away from you, loving the effect you have.

Oh, yes, anything for effect. It's what you're best at. It's what you live for. You dress like this for a reason. You love attention, you love drama and pathos and playing part of a story.

And that's when you turn down an anonymous blind alley and find an unmarked door set into a wall. You can hear the thud of industrial bass through the building wall as you open the door and enter the club. You smile at the bouncer, who welcomes you and waves you past the line of supplicants. They all know you here; you're a respected regular, a member of the Scene, bright and sharp yet kind and friendly, always knowing just what to say and what to do, dancing on the knife-edge of etiquette and contempt...

Goth is a way of life not just a day job... (18/08/03)

teenager's (and indeed older Goths). This superiority is subjectively applied across the group and acknowledged only anecdotally by Goths themselves as a reflection of open-mindedness and freedom of expression that some Goths feel that they have, and as such other groups who judge them on aesthetics qualities (such as how they look) become 'mundanes'[19].

The connection of Gothic style to the darker side of human nature is a concern for many people and for many parents. It can easily be argued that the connection in style with underground fetish culture is a stimulating factor in any moral concerns levied at this group. It can be suggested that this is a part of the 'moral panic' over youth of this style, linked of course to shock rockers like Marylin Manson by the American press after the Columbine High school shootings[20]; though this is more of an international media creation than representative of the interviews in this research.

Another point made in this quote is that there is a distinct 'scene' to which this particular 'Gothicliffe' belongs. The stylistic and musical focus is very important to the perceived collective distinctiveness of Goths from other groups, also the inherent egotism and superiority shown here can be loosely connected to the well educated middle class youth whose expression of individuality through style is often reacted to strongly by both the public and their peers.

BOX 4 SUBJECT – Teeny Goths

Vo Vo Martin (unregistered):

It seems teeny Goths do not know a lot about true gothic music. Here is a way to tell if you are a true Goth.

1.go to bedroom

2.put on stereo Siouxsie and the Banshees / Helter skelter

3.start CD lay still and listen to the queen of Goths gothic tones.

...if something stirs within you (not a curry) you are a true Goth.

(20/09/03)

Further quotations taken from the similar discussion boards on a different conversational thread there is a clear division within the Newcastle Goth scene between the older Goth 'tribe'[21] and the 'Teeny-Goths' that are seen to dominate OES (Box 4)

The difference in musical taste and clothing styles extend to the attitude demonstrated towards both insiders and outsiders. Many of the older Goths feel defensive of their collective distinction. They feel that the younger Goths should not be placed in the same bracket as themselves, and see the new affluence of the young people as an invasion of their culture, subverted and misinterpreted by younger participants. Ironically some react to young Goths by disparaging them, concluding that '*most of them will grow out of it when the next trend comes along*'[22]

This is however tempered with an awareness of wider issues about the perception of Gothic style, as demonstrated later in the discussion thread on this topic:

'*They call themselves Goths because that's what their parents label them as. Their parents don't understand that listening to rock/metal and being a Goth are not one and the same thing.*'[23]

Often fashion is a combination of previous subcultural styles, bringing together fragments of related styles including; new romantic, cyber, punk, rock, indie, heavy metal and fetish. This form of creative heteroglossia is not meant to imply that there is a homological link between the symbolic elements of these distinct groupings rather that they all can be broadly linked under the generalisation of the 'alternative', thus placing them subjectively as an 'Other', but only from a perspective of the aesthetics used to distinguish a collective sense of identity in relation to other groups of youths. This was not significant of any homological resistance, social disadvantage or identity politics as suggested in earlier subcultural research[24] but it was a key method of identification. As Gothicliffe stated '*It's what you're best at. It's what you live for. You dress like this for a reason*'. The presentation of Gothicism in these discussions online, and in interviews suggests that Goths have a '*collective sense of distinction and superiority over a perceived mainstream society.*' (Hodkinson 2002: 62)

Contemporary young Goths, particularly in and around OES, are linked more with the Heavy Metal, Rock and Nu-metal stylistic scene than with the wider understandings of what 'true' Goth may be for older informed insiders, such as Hodkinson's generation of 'pubbing and clubbing' Goths. To label these youngsters as Goths is only inaccurate to *some* members of the community and can sometimes seen as insulting by older 'traditional' Goths.

There are further divisions within this culture of 'Traditional' or 'new romantic' Goth (linked to 80's music and fashion), Cyber Goth (linked to industrial dance music and club scenes), Nu-Goth (linked to metal music and predominant on OES) and variations on style between age groups. Despite which when asked if they considered themselves to be a part of any cultural group the overwhelming response from youths on OES (in almost all interviews) is that they see themselves as being Goths but perhaps of a new style, and a new generation[25].

Goths & Hanging Out

The main subculture / tribe / sub-group on OES in terms of territory are the Goths and they are by far the most numerous of the youths gathering in this area at any one time[26]. It is the perception and activity of this group first and foremost that has raised most tension between different sub-groups in this area[27].

BOX 5

Why do you gather in this area / on OES

Male GOTH (14): '*Really 'cause you don't get any bother you can just sit around and be... or do whatever you wanna do without anyone disturbing you*'[1]

Male SKATER (15): '*yeah and we can use the back without people being in the way n'all*'

Male GOTH (14): '*sit on the grass n' stuff and hang around with your mates and that*'

Female GOTH (16): '*We've got loads of friends that come here actually, although their not all here right now*'

Female GOTH (15): '*It's somewhere where you can just relax and chill*'

From interviews conducted in the summer of 2003

Goths attend the Green at specific times over the course of a standard week in the city centre. They have most often been found on OES between the hours of 3:30pm and 7pm during the week (after school before the start of the evening / pub crowd) and in far larger numbers between 11am and 7pm on weekends (Saturday, Sunday and Bank or School Holidays), though during the course of this research these patterns have begun to change. As the evenings close in over the city centre it has been noted that the group tend to disperse, leaving OES and the city centre, particularly emphasised after the close of businesses and shops at the end of the 9-5 working day.

Observations of Goths on the square have seen a steady drop in numbers on OES in the evenings as a whole; the darkening city centre appears less attractive for prolonged gatherings. Variations of weekend access change with the weather but has seen still seen a small but significant decline in the numbers of Goths gathering on OES. Bad weather affects how many people come onto OES for all of the groups discussed here, and numbers are far fewer in the winter seasons than in the spring and summer, generally peaking in the Easter and Summer holiday periods and in periods when the weather is warm and dry.

The use of OES for the Goths is predominantly recreational or 'hanging out' (Box 5). The square is used as a meeting point, a venue for gathering in numbers with others of similar interests in the city centre. Socialising and 'showing off' amongst peers is commonplace in both attire and behaviour this laid back enthusiasm is reflected in comments made about what OES is and means:

'*I think its fine for people to express their individuality and it's a good place to come to hang out*' (BYPP 2001)

This theme of being safe and together with peers runs through the activities of Goths in the city. In this respect they appear much like any other users of the city centre and of public space wanting it to be safe, and sociable. It is for these predominantly social reasons that they continue to come together on OES.

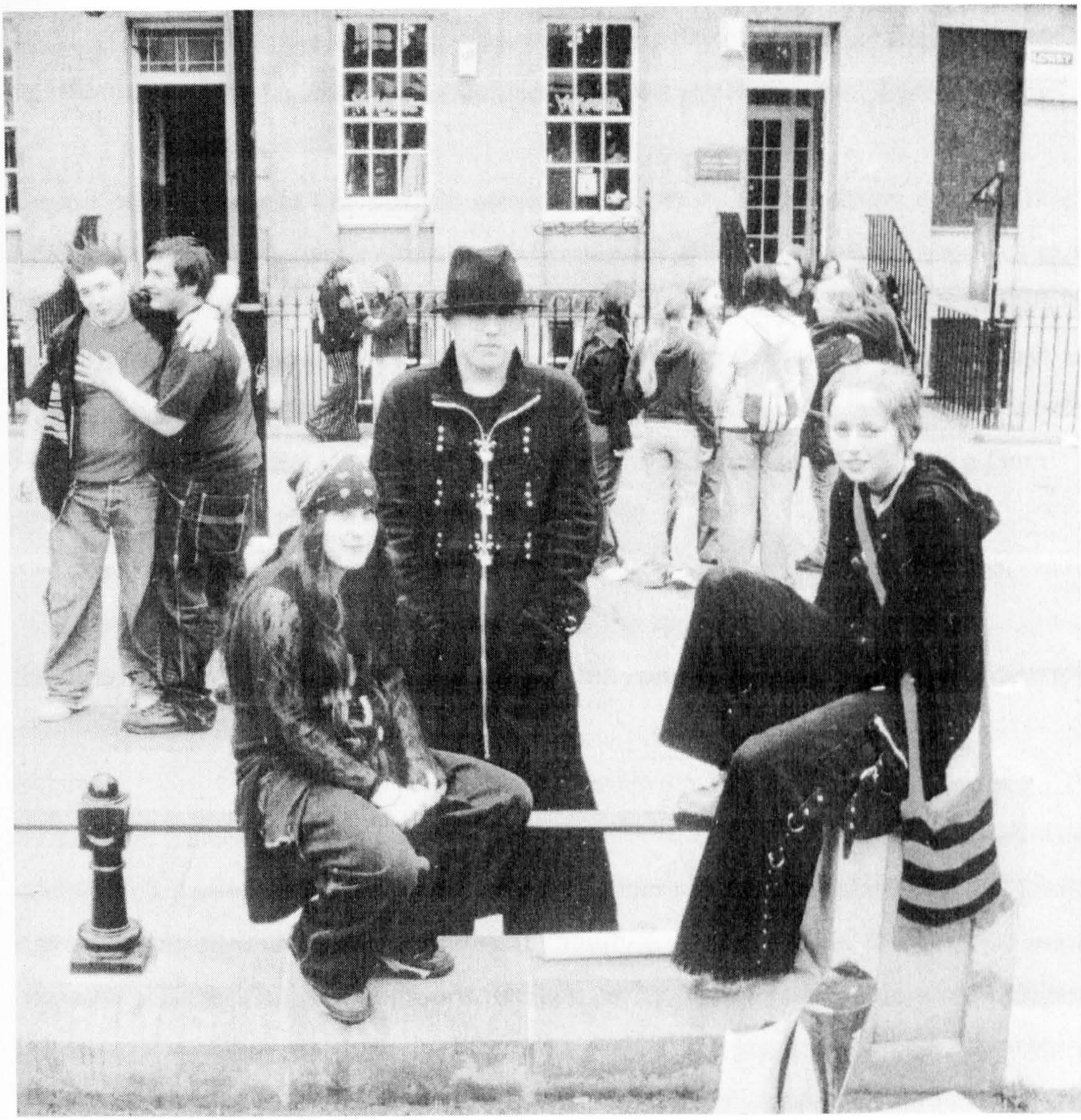


Figure 25. Teenage Goths 'Hanging out on OES'

Defining the Users: Skaters

Skate is a well defined group also connected to previous subaltern cultural tribes, borrowing in some elements from both the Ska and Punk movements of the 1970's and 1980's and the underground (but now established) extreme sports industry. It has been discussed as a dynamic and vibrant redefinition of urban architecture and is already the source of academic research on the urban and on the use of public space[28].

Skaters have a distinct but flexible sense of style, but in many ways it is the most significant urban subaltern cultural tribe because of skate differentially engages in a re-interpretive 'dance' with space itself (Borden 2001: 119-135). Style to Skaters is more than a bricolage of commodities and clothing, though these do play as significant a role in the collective distinctions that qualify a fellow 'skater' as it would for a Goth, Punk or Rocker. As seen in Gothicliffe's definition of 'what is a Goth'[29], style for Skaters can also be presented as an attitude:

'*Style isn't the full action wear wardrobe and the upper lip curled sneer. Style is the backspin on the quarters as you put them in the candy machine.*' (Thrasher magazine cited in Borden 2001: 120)

Identity for Skaters can be in this way a reflection of their professional idols (as seen above). A huge industry of product lines, magazines and media that support this group has sprung up around the global skate community[30]. However there is a local variation on these themes within peer groups. Certain styles, brands and professional Skaters are revered to different extents in different areas and the geography of each city has a bearing on the extent to which skate will be seen in the city centre. Each local scene is grounded in its own specific context and some cities are more 'skate-able' than others.

Where Goths were concerned with music, style and perceived identity, interviews with Skaters showed that they were much more concerned with activity itself (i.e. the skill of each individual on the board, skates or bikes respectively). It is important to note that although skate has a distinct visual style; as long as you have a bike, board or skates and a repertoire of tricks you will be considered as one of the group, aesthetics is more focused on the performance than the attire as the key signifier of

collective distinction and the key concern of many young people during this time was the lack of skate park in the city centre (Young 2002)[31]

The musical connection of this group is often fragmented covering a broad range of alternative styles with an emphasis on rock, punk and ska; the key 'taste' if one can be brought forth is often one that has evolved from a cross over known as ska-punk, but even this is linked to rock music across a broad spectrum of styles through the individual variations on music 'taste' (Bennet 1999; Hennion 2001).

There is a broad skate community in Newcastle upon Tyne which has been focused around several areas in the city centre. OES has been one of these at various times, as have Haymarket (figure 26), and the Blue Carpet but the Skaters are more mobile than most youths, due partly to the emphasis on movement that 'skating' brings forth; using the streets as the concrete park on which the performance takes place. This tends to keep Skaters on the move, partly due to the ongoing battle between Skaters and representatives of security agencies (both public and private) in the city centre as a result of the damage to architecture caused by skating, grinding off rails, waxing steps and benches and partly due to the perceived connections of Skaters with graffiti art.

The stylistic traits of younger Skaters are largely based in the practicalities of skating apparel and representations of collectively distinct association similar to that of Goths but represented through the skate industry in terms of magazines, clothing and shoe labels, skateboards (or decks) as examples of just a few products developed through this niche market industry.

The clothing or fashion style of Skaters is distinct, due somewhat to the emphasis on performance. A casual approach reinforces this, baggy jeans and 'hoodies' (hooded jumpers/coats); T-shirts displaying some skate related slogan, band or brand will often be worn. Shoes are arguably one of the most important products for Skaters, as it is with the feet that manipulation of the board is initially achieved, there is a distinct aesthetic but also practical awareness of products that becomes apparent in this way, one skating youth remarked during an interview session:

Figure 26 - Inline Skaters at the Haymarket Memorial
North end of Northumberland Street - Aug. 2002

*'Are those Con's, they're the same ones Johnny Knox wears you know, they're cool as f**k'*[32]

Skating & Spatial (Re)Appropriation

Skaters are the most physically active of the groups, in at least as much as they are the only group to interact with the architecture itself in a performance of activity. They are highly mobile moving throughout the city centre either as they get moved on or search for area where they are able to skate unimpeded. OES has, in the past, been a central location for Skaters. With a low footfall on the North and West side (especially since the closure of the George and Dragon pub) this gives the Skaters a wide open paved area in which to practice and perform (See Box 5).

Still, the Skaters have other 'hang outs' in the city centre and can be found in any place where this either a large area with little pedestrian thoroughfare or where there are some furniture / obstacles arrayed for them to use (see figure 28). 'Street' skating is a recognised sport at the equivalent of the extreme sports Olympics, and as such is a central part of learning for many participants.

Importantly (as seen in Box 5) skating cost very little past the initial investment in a 'deck' or 'blades', as an ongoing activity for young people it is both physical, relatively harmless beyond the perception of danger posed to passers-by and damage to physical architecture (more on this later) and it can effectively be done anywhere. This means that the city itself becomes a skatepark and benches, low ledges, steps, rails or other such street furniture are all part of the landscape of play (Flusty 2000; Wooley & Johns 2001). Other locations where skaters are often found in the city centre include the Haymarket metro, the University campus, the paved walkway out side the civic centre (with slate borders), Bath Lane, The Basil Hume memorial and Times Square (figure 28) all of which are pedestrianised (Grafham 2002).

Figure 27. Skaters on the Green (May 2004)

Figure 28. Map outlining public spaces in the city centre where skating has been observed from 2000-2003[33]

Defining the Users: Charvers / Chavs

Frequently, as seen in the case of the Mods and Rockers, youth 'cultural tribes' feed on opposition within the ranks of adolescents (Hebdige 1988: 109-113). Contemporary youth culture is the same in this respect; tensions arise between groups of different styles, to different extents. Subjectively at this stage the oppositional group to the generally middle-class cultures depicted above is the city bound Charver.

The Charver groups have many names and can be seen in these guises all over the UK, the origin of the term is linked to several things but most common is the area of Chatham, in Kent, where the regional term 'chavvy' is used to refer to young people in general. So prevalent is this emergent culture that a dedicated critic has developed a website dedicated to them under the title 'Chavscum'[34]. Leading among other media reactions to this growing phenomenon to an explosion of interest in the national press:

'*Chavs, Neds, Townies, Kevs, Charvers, Steeks, Spides, Bazzas, Yarcos, Ratboys, Kappa Slappers, Skangers, Janners, Stigs, Scallies, whatever you know them as, this site is about them, Britain's peasant underclass that are taking over our towns and cities!*' (Anon 2003a)

Frequently originating in communities targeted by renewal and social / anti-social behaviour strategies the Charver can subjectively be seen as the 'burgeoning peasant underclass' (chavscum.co.uk) of the UK[35]. The changing demography of the traditional working class has been linked to the growth of a 'Chav culture' in the UK. Key factors for this have been stated as; the rise in disposable income amongst the 'working class'; the rise of rhetoric's around moral disintegration and the underclass; the decline of the UK manufacturing industry (Burchill 2005). However this group has moved beyond the normative values of the traditional working class and has evolved an intricate status and performative display unique to its own collective distinctiveness.

Designer labels are the key to this image, the recognisable Charver may be wearing; Burberry baseball caps, shirts, jackets and jumpers from designer labels (e.g. Fred

Perry – see figure 30) or hooded tops, track suits and (usually white) training shoes[36] (figure 29). The connections to jewellery are as significant as for Goths but Charver 'lads' prefer thick gold chains, sovereign rings and heavy gold watches where possible, 'lasses' will sport large quantities of bangles, large hooped gold earrings or pendants of '*rag dolls, teddy bears, horses, gypsy caravans, guns*' (Anon 2003a).

Charver lads will always have short hair, usually shaved short as this is seen to be smart, clean and tidy. Girls will more often have bleached platinum blonde hair but this is more of a trend than a rule, as with the coloured braids and dyed black / neon colours of Goths it can be expensive and high maintenance and is a stereotype rather than a universal reality.

Figure 29. Charver lads on the street

Music also plays a role in the collective distinctiveness of Charvers as with the above groups. The tribal connections link into rap, R&B, Chart and Dance music and attitudes reflect a white UK version of the 'gangsta' rappers 'street wise' mentality; Chav icon Lady Sovereign is quoted on a recent documentary:

'*I've seen things in my life that they'd never see living in like Chelsea, maybe goin by on the bus like...*' (Sovereign - interviewed in Burchill 2005)

In many ways attempts to reflect this attitude manifest through a confrontational attitude reflecting this desire to be hardened to the difficulties of life in the city. The

Figure 30 - Charver kids on Eldon Walk, overlooking OES

collective sense of a group identity is similar in many ways to the Goths. The same sense that the adoption of this distinct lifestyle elevates them not just stylistically but morally above other groups; however demonisation of this as low culture combined with frequent connections of Chav culture to binge drinking and crime have cast a negative light on Charver culture, predominantly in the national press[37].

"Swicked Like": Charver activity

Observations of the activity of this group over several years have suggested that Charvers hang out in the city in much the same manner as the Goths and Skaters. However whilst the Goths gather on the east side of the green near the shops Charvers generally move through and around the city centre a little more, gathering on the north and west sides of the green on 'Eldon Walk' over looking the rest of OES.

During this time it has become clear that Charvers are well known for pestering other users of space, asking for cigarettes whenever a smoker is seen and bus money

Figure 31. Charvers 'hanging out' on the Green

(http://www.newcastle-thegreen.tk/)

when coins jingle within earshot. Refusal to accede to their requests frequently results in a torrent of verbal abuse in a dialect that has evolved locally and become distinct within Charver culture (see below)[38]. An intimidation led possession of space cannot be solely attributed to this group however they appear to have a much more aggressive attitude to other people in public than either of the other groups discussed.

The coarse and irreverent mannerisms of the Charvers have led to them being depicted as 'yobbos' and criminal others (see 8.2), and it is through this stigma that the demonisation of youth can be shown to continue apace in the media and wider public eye (Anon 2004e, 2004b; Connor 2004; Pearson 2004). It also brings into focus the tensions between these groups as all three of them are in and around OES at similar times in the evening and weekends (Figure 31).

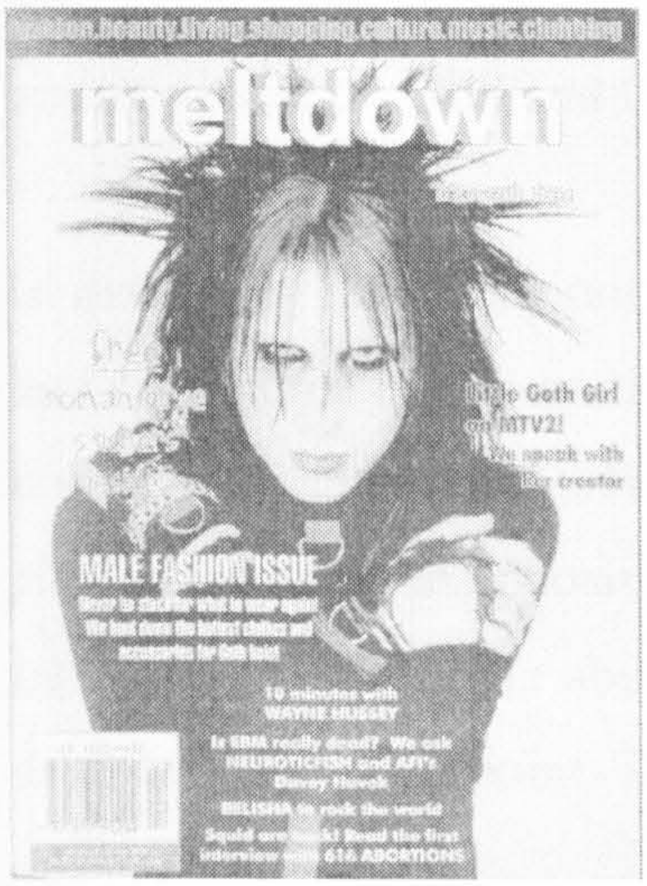
A summary of the key stereotypes of style and appearance, the dominant use-values and activities, the broad or general demography of each group and key tensions that have been brought out through the interviews, observation and other data collection activities relating primarily to the self-identification of these groups is proffered below, this is supported here by some examples of key icons or what could arguably be called role models in from the commercial orientation of products and culture, as represented in interviews has also been included to demonstrate some of the commercial tendencies of each tribal subgroup (Figures 32.A-J / Table 14).

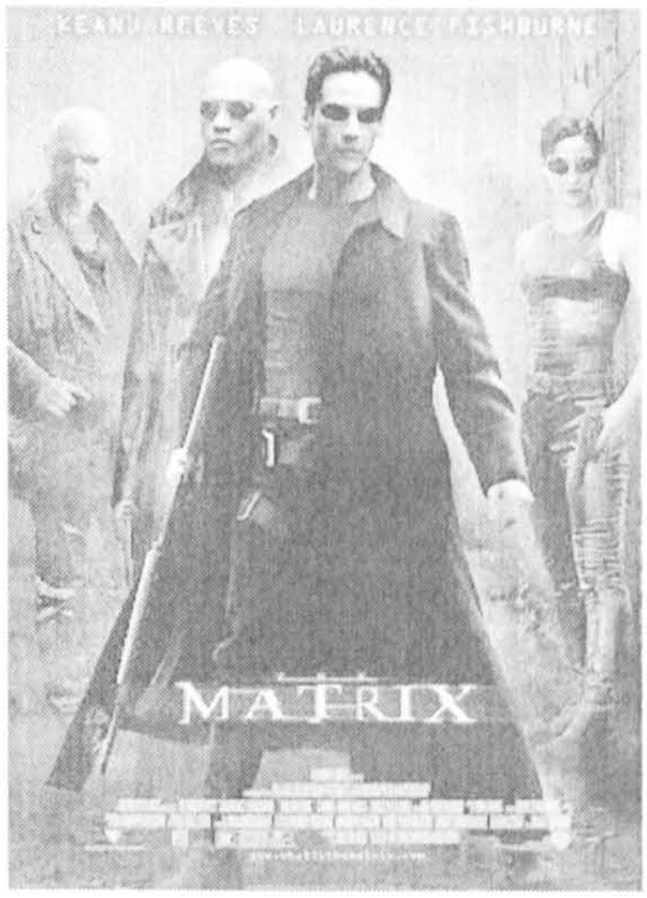
SUBCULTURE TRIBE GROUP	STEREOTYPES OF STYLE / APPEARANCE (seen on OES)	DOMINANT ACTIVITY / USE-VALUE (On OES)	BROAD DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND	KEY TENSIONS (with other groups on OES)
Goths	Black clad, often hair dyed black or elaborate bright colours, Band T-shirts, designer fetish & club wear, highly stylised. **Significant symbols:** Dominance of black clothing, Nu-rock footwear, Belt chains & silver / leather jewellery	Passive recreation 'Hanging out', socialising, shopping and general horseplay on grassy area. Main concentration of Goths in the city centre is on OES.	Generally middle class, well educated, sometimes wealthy, e.g. most Goths will have their own mobile phone. Travel from wide area both local (north or east of suburbs) and regional (Northumberland county)	Local Businesses. Due to perceived intimidation of customers Charvers. Due to conflicting life-styles and identities *Also linked to intimidation of the public by NCC, local media*
Skaters / BMX / Inline Skaters	Casual attire, baggy blue jeans, combat trousers, logo T-shirts / hoodies. Often with backpack **Significant symbols:** Skateboard / roller blades / BMX. Often wear chains on belt.	Active recreation Engaging with architecture in 'street skating', plus 'hanging out', socialising and watching others perform tricks / set runs in a location. Spread throughout skate 'spots' in the city centre. Mainly found at the new skate park.	Mixed, skating is not a cheap hobby most Skaters will be dedicated to the sport to fund skating equipment. Travel from a wide area both local (generally east end) and regional (Northumberland county)	Ex-servicemen's Association. Due to the damage and disrespect to memorial by skating in the area *Also less conflict with business and Charvers than Goths, but links to NCC through need for a skate park*
Charvers	Smart casual attire / track suits. Designer labels from high street stores, often white or 'sporty' colours, caps or hooded tops. **Significant symbols:** Burberry & other designer label clothing, Rockport footwear, flamboyant gold jewellery	Passive recreation Socialising and observing other groups. More likely to be seen drinking alcohol and in shopping areas. Transitory use of space, move in small groups occasionally gathering in a location then moving on. Often use Eldon Walk or edge of shopping centre.	Generally working class or 'underclass', Most Charvers appear to come from the local area, west end of Newcastle upon Tyne	Goths. Due to conflicting life-styles and identities Police. Due to anti-social behaviour and petty crime *Also linked to intimidation of the public by NCC, local media*

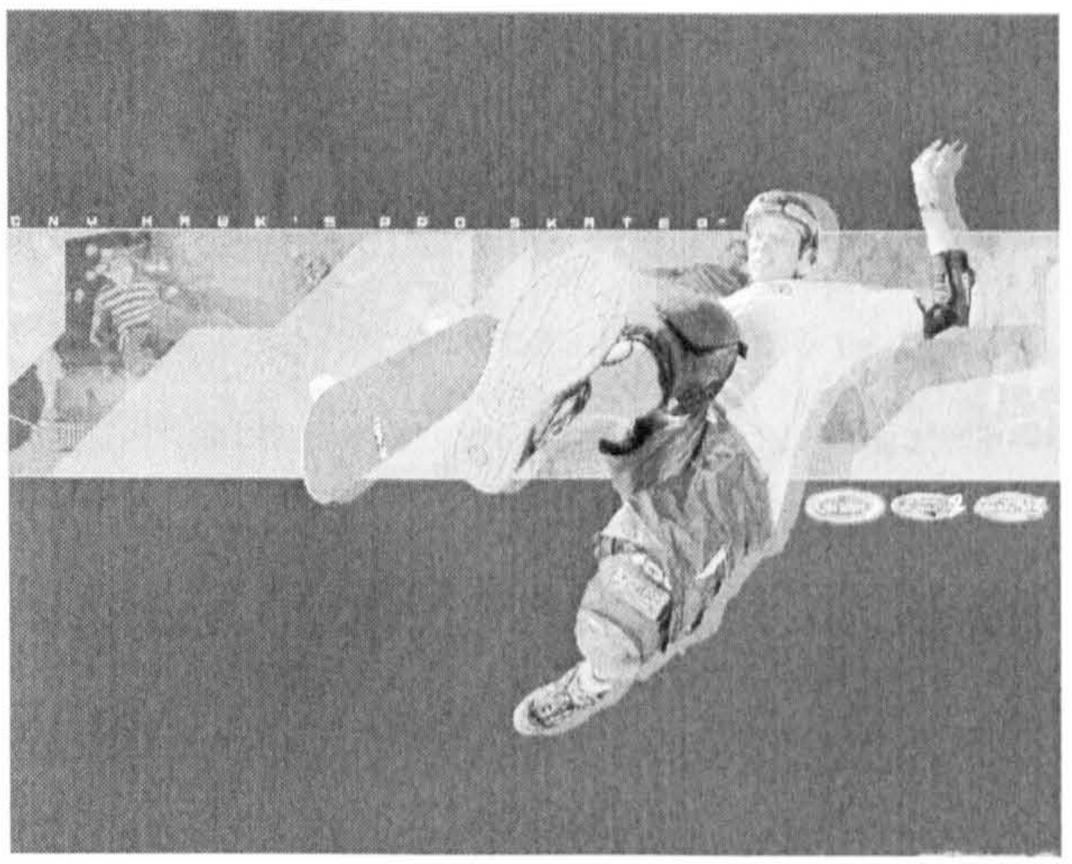
Table 14 - Summary of appearance / style, general activities / use-values and demographic background of key youth groups

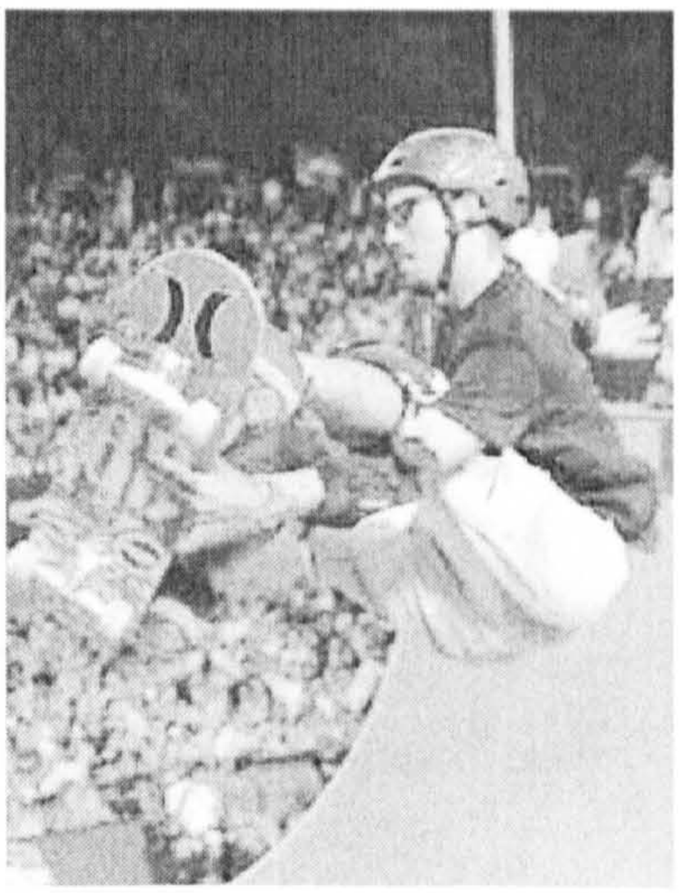
Figure 32. A-E – Examples of popular culture influences on style

A - (Top Left) Spring Issue of Meltdown Magazine, Cover featuring Goth 'Bois' Fashion
B - (Top - Centre) Italian Release Promotional Poster for 'the Crow' (1994)
C - (Top Right) Promotional Poster for the Matrix (1999)
D - (Centre Left) The Beckhams – 'King & Queen Chav' (Burchill 2005) – www.dailymail.com
E - (Centre Right) Skate Legend – Tony Hawk - www.altiz.com
F - (Bottom Left - 1) Jade Goodall – Big Brother TV show finalist - taken from chavscum.co,uk
G - (Bottom Left - 2) Mike Carrol – 5 Million Lottery Winner self proclaimed 'king chav' - taken from chavscum.co,uk
H - (Bottom Centrer -1) The Sun – UK newspaper targeting Chav culture with Burberry 'Chav' logo
I - (Bottom Centre - 2) A Selection of Skate magazines from 2002 / 2003
J - (Bottom Right) Pro-Skater Bob Burnquist at the Gravity Games in the US - gravgames.com









Tensions, Tribalism & Location: The Perception of Youth by Youth

There are both explicit and implicit tensions between the youth groups that gather on the green. This is manifest in their opinions of each other online, in various publications (though these will be discussed in the context of public perceptions in 8.2) and made clear in the many interviews conducted and Saturdays spent observing young people on OES and throughout the whole of the city centre.

In discussing these tensions there are connections with the public perception of youth and managerial representations of both young people and youth activity, these will be discussed in chapter 8.2. Here in order to focus this debate the primary tensions the city centre between opposing youth lifestyle and tribe will be dealt with. These, whilst introduced in the table above, require more detailed discussion and the key tension shall be the starting point. That is the tensions between the Goths and the Charvers.

Goth Vs Charvers: 'Freaks' and 'Chavscum'

Tensions between these two groups are apparent at any time that you can see them together. There is clear antagonistic awareness of the stylistic distinctions between the two groups. The key concern here is to see if this antagonism is purely articulated through verbal and literary argument (such as the online message boards and media stories) or if it is made apparent in the use of space by these groups. If confrontational spatial practices evolve then can these be considered responsible for the legislation of youth as a potentially criminal anti-social 'other'; if so this would appear to reinforce the managerial tactics for designing-out youth from the public in favour of less contentious user demographics.

It become clear through interviews conducted on the green that there was one unifying trait of the city centre that made youth subscribing to gothic lifestyle uncomfortable (Box 6).

This problem has existed between these group for some time. Where the Goths wear black and red, the Charvers wear white and pink; where the Goths like dark heavy

BOX 6

Is there anything that makes you uncomfortable about hanging out in the city?

ALL: '*Charvas*'

M. GOTH (14): '*It was the other week there was a big group of about a hundred Charvers come down and tried to start a fight, t'was a while ago...*'

M. GOTH (14): '*Aye, we were getting a bit scared like, there was this big massive one just walking round and...*'

M. GOTH (14): '*Like last week some Charvers are just go round and randomly hitting people, so we just moved*'

M. GOTH (14): '*...and they've usually got drink or summit so they just drink themselves stupid and then go around lookin' for a fight.*'

INTERVIEW ON OES – 20/03/03

metal and rock music the Charvers like R&B, drum & bass or chart toppers; where the Goths are often predominantly from relatively affluent middle-class suburbs or towns the Charvers tend to come from the poorer West end communities or inner city communities.

This plays itself out through the disparaging language applied to each other when opposition between the groups is in evidence. This is hard to clearly depict from interviews, though it is clear that there are distinct problems between the groups (see Box 5). Any deeper understanding from teenage participants degenerated into name calling and exaggeration, older participants were both more forthcoming about what they perceived to be the reasons for conflict and were more wary of situations where problems may occur (e.g. being alone or near to a large group of stylistically distinct young people of a different style). Those in the late teens and early twenties appeared to have more experience of violent incidents than younger members; whose tensions were exhibited in occurrences of intimidation rather than direct personal experiences of physical violence[39].

Where Goths find Charvers uneducated, rude and violent, the Charvers find Goths superior, 'freakish' and weak. The most balanced examples of the differences in the collective identities of these groups are exhibited in this long, but particularly telling excerpt from an online discussion. Whilst integrating the original points made this post is a reply, by a Goth member of the board, to a post by a Charver (User name - *mel4kempy2k2*):

SUBJECT – Points about GOTHS-SK8AZ-MOSHER TWATS ETC)

User name - *Hmmmm*

Message: *"1) u think charva style is out dated?? hippy shit is from the 60s/70s"*

Moshers/Goths/whatever aren't hippies, they just dress how they want to dress funnily enough like you dress however you want to.

The connection of long hair to hippies is one that frustrates the Goths and thus is used to antagonise them by Charvers. The attacking of each others dress codes is a standard bone of contention met with incomprehension of why each group would choose to wear what they do. The Goths usually suggest freedom of expression as a core reason for style, where as Charvers claim being 'smart and tidy' as the main reasons for their choice in dress:

*"2) nowt wrong wiv gold jewelery, its better than that cheap metal stuff u lot wear, an wats the point in them spikey neck things??- u wanna put that chain u got hangin off ur pants on it as a lead an be tied up in a bak yard sumwhere like a fu*kin dog?"*

"3)why do u all wear black clothes and HUGE trousers? u look depressin and scruffy"

"7)why do u wear them big raggy sk8er shoes or dr martins an stuff, at least rockies are smart"

Why do you wear HUUUGE gold neckalaces and HUUUGE gold ear rings? answer.. it's what you want to wear like we want to wear the skater shoes :)

In retaliation to disparagement many Goths appear to use their perceived, and frequently *actual*, educational superiority to attack the intellect of the Charvers. This was supported by interviews with older participants who often have progressed further in full-time education. A key reason for this online is that many posts made by Charvers on message boards are frequently formatted into a minimalistic text language more typical of mobile phone use. On the other hand this is banned from several of the Goth websites in favour of encouraging full expression of the English language in its extended form. This language difference appears symbolic to many of the differences between the groups. Developing these distinctions further it appears that whilst Charvers feel that Goths are 'scruffy' most Goths think that Charvers are undereducated or simply stupid:

"5)why do u think charvas are thick? i hav passed all my GCSEs and i'm doin an aprenticeship as a mechanic an i make loads an do well at something i enjoy. i'm not in some crappy punk rock band tryna get a gig at the local, lol."

I think your thick because of your lack of grammar and spelling mistakes plus you keep talking utter bollocks :)

There is a great deal of ignorance of each others lifestyles and backgrounds and a general sense of superiority on both sides. Class and social differentiation is thus raised as an issue. Whereas many of the Goths come from what would be by many called middle class or comparatively affluent working class backgrounds most of the Charvers come from the poorer working class and 'underclass' areas, as such are seen

as 'welfare culture' and 'wasters' and Goths are seen as arrogant, judgemental and 'up themselves'[40].

Stereotypes are also rife in the awareness of taste; each suggesting that the other *only* listen to aggressive rap or to depressing Goth tunes. This limited awareness of the significant dynamics of conspicuous consumption within each group and towards the wider diversity of personal 'taste' infuriates members of both groups equally. This can be seen as a form of distinction based on the clarification of social positioning through conspicuous consumption. If, as according to consumer theory, an identity is subscribed to through 'pecuniary emulation' the adoption of symbolic products in a performance of social categorisation can be seen as informing the competitive social differentiation between groups (Gottdeiner 2000: 7-9)[41]. When that position is challenged by another distinct group whose values may not be oppositional, but whose sense of social differentiation is contradictory to that held by the other subgroup, then a confrontational unwillingness to understand each other begins to underpin the interaction between the collectively distinct groups, as seen below:

> *"4)why is all ur music so depression and angry? your sad enuff 2 wear them clothes without listenin to morbid music to drive u into suicidal depression"*

> *Whose music is depressing? most of my songs are actually talking about real things instead of "tying my hoe up and b*tch slapping her" ;) as a lot of stupid rap crap often has :)*

There does appear to be a genuine willingness to simply get along that is supported by the interviews, though this is primarily within the Goth and skater groups. More often when approached the Charver groups were aggressively refuse to participate in the research:

> *"6)why do u spend so much time worryin bout charvas? ur obviously scared or ya wud jus let us be an stop whingin!"*

> *Maybe it's coz charva's start laying sh*t out of us because of the way we look! I'm not scared of charvas I'm just annoyed by*

BOX 7

Comments on Charvers

Femle GOTH (16): '*Because we dress different they seem to think that we're not people*'

Male SKATER (15): '*You should've been here on Saturday, there was actually one of us (gestures around the group) assaulted by Charvers and they did get arrested.*'

Easter weekend 2003

*them muchly. Well actually I'm annoyed by some of them there's loads that are cool and not narrowminded d*cks :)*

The atmosphere of annoyance and frustration promotes a mutual distaste towards what each other stand for, and yet at once a genuine curiosity about each others lifestyles. However a lack of communication in real terms and the likelihood of peer pressure to behave in certain ways in public affect the real 'lived' experience of each other outside of the electronic or virtual world. A history of bullying and violence filtered through peer groups and the media does not help to promote understanding.

The classic stereotypes (see table 14 - above) become part of the arsenal of misunderstanding between the two groups, as demonstrated here by the combination of both misinterpreting each other and the degeneration of this misunderstanding to frustration and thence violence (see Box 7). However, as stated earlier there are more than antagonistic relationships between these groups there is a certain amount of camaraderie and interchange between these collectively distinct groups on either a one-to-one or small group basis, unfortunately there are many preconceptions on the reasons and meaning of style:

*"10) why do u go round thinkin ur satan worshipers or summin an spray piantin anarchy symbols evrywhere?? do u think its 1985 or summin an ur in the $ex-pistols?? u think this whole punk/sk8er thing is soo new dont ya, its probly even older than Charvers! & GOTHS that comes from the fu*kin 1800s dont it?*

*jeezus christ u hav no rite to say charvs are old fashioned ya sad fu*ks!"*

No one I know says they are Satan worshipers it's people like you that suddenly decide we are because we wear clothes different from you, and so what about the old fashioned crap, fashions moves too fast for any sane person to want to keep up with anyway ;)

In many interviews Goths claimed that Charvers are old fashioned morally due to the apparent inability of Chavs to tolerate difference and the perceived connection of the group to by Goths 'underclass' or 'welfare society'; the equivalent misunderstandings from Goths is in their reaction to this perceived difference; choosing, sometimes wilfully, to misunderstand the lifestyles of Charvers. This can be linked to similar moral understandings of skinheads by wider society in the 1980's, and is a watered down application of the wider moral panic over yobs grounded in the lived experiences of intimidation manifest through the abuse born out of Chav reactions to the challenges to traditional gender roles exhibited by such occurrences as men in make-up and the androgyny of high-street gothic couture. Whilst it can be argued that the ethos of the Charvers reinforces masculinity in more direct ways whereas gothic fashion breaks down such boundaries challenging traditional sexuality such comparisons are at the root of the opposition between these groups. This in of itself is increasingly challenged as a point from this research. Masculinity does not in this sense reflect violence. It is in the domination of a different 'other' and the financially cost-free entertainment, found from violent conduct, that the emphasis of Charver culture resides – though such activities are *targeted* through traditional cultural misunderstandings such as those flagged through gender roles here[42]. Violent tensions of this nature have been noted in research on urban violence as committed by young women (Nessa 2004), and reflected in the crime statistics around OES when young girls and women were equally prone to violent conduct or experience of violence as young men (see appendix 1).

The catalyst of these tensions appears to manifest primarily around the aesthetic differences between the groups. However there are more explicit tensions that have to

be addressed in their awareness of each other in space. The Goths frequently blame the Charvers for the negative perception of youth in the city centre, discussions over the anti-social 'yobbos' as mentioned above describe a stylistic distinction that fits the identity of a group of Charvers, with frequent references to public hysteria over 'hooded' youth (Anon 2003c; Pearson 2004). However rising levels of violent crime in the city, particularly with reference to mobile phone crime, vandalism when seen in the context of Charver youths attempts to solicit cigarettes and money from 'weaker' youth raises tensions in the perception of this group in the public eye.

Box 6 refers to a specific incident of a violent confrontation between a group of Charvers and a combined group of skaters and Goths. 'No police response' was the official documentation of this event in the incident reports at the local police station (see appendix 1), though cases of violent behaviour do increase in this area over the Easter holidays and records of conflict do exist (chapter 9). This is more frequent during holiday periods as the schools are not in session, releasing youth to come into the Green more frequently and for visits of longer duration each day over the holiday period[43].

What is made clear is that Charvers do not distinguish between the different groups such as Goths and Skaters, and where this occurs it is to offer a different form of stylistic disparagement. The Goths and Skaters in the city centre of Newcastle are very much aware of each other, and whilst they may not always be geographically close, due largely to the decreasing skateable areas at OES, there is little or no antagonism in their awareness of each other (Box 8).

BOX 8

Comments on Charvers

Female GOTH (17): '*Skaters, are really canny, they're just themselves they go round on their skateboards and what have you (BMX) their alright ... the same*'

Male SKATER (15): '*Don't think about them really, their alright. They actually are friendly people despite what they look like.*

Easter weekend 2003

the green, an organised brawl has never occurred. Only 3 times in 4 years has a brawl between these groups actually manifested in a reportable incident and on two of these occasions it has been a minor scuffle. The third will be discussed in relation to the media portrayal of the tensions between these groups in the next section (8.2).

An incident occurred of a more serious nature between Goths and Charvers after an event held in a local nightclub in the city centre[44]. Whilst this incident did not occur on or near OES it is useful in demonstrating the seriousness of these divisions and the potential for such antagonism to become dangerous for youths in the city centre. On Monday the 4th of August 2003 a young male, who could be described as a Goth (regularly hung out on the green, linked to local metal music scene) was walking home from an under 18s rock music night in the china town area of Newcastle city centre, upon asked what the time was a group of young men fitting the description of Charvers doused him in lighter fluid and set the boy on fire. He suffered burns to his arms, body and face and was hospitalised as a result of the attack[45]. Interviews were conducted shortly after this incident was reported in the media and a brief heightening of the tensions between groups was clearly apparent. Several small scale fracas' were anecdotally reported by youths but little evidence to support this was found in police reports – though some tensions of this nature are seen in police reports (see Appendix).

Towards an Understanding of Spatial Practices: Youth Identity & Activity

What this first section on youth has tried to achieve is a reflection on the collectively distinct youth groups that are apparent in and around OES, and in the wider city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne. In describing these groups some of the generalisations made about youth in relation to the management of the city centre become mute; demographic distinctions used by CMM (Reeve 1996) applied to the classification of young people are rendered useless when the singular definitions of youth represented in these broad demographic classifications are broken down into diverse (life)stylistic collective distinctions and/or subgroups.

It is clear that there are significant culturally embedded differences between these groups, and that to treat youth as a single homogenous demographic is an inherently flawed approach; whether it occurs through strategy or tactical management. The problematic of planning and managing such diverse groups can be connected to the lack of an understanding of these collective distinctions by managers.

Many young peoples concerns about 'yobbish' behaviour and violent crime are similar to those held by businesses and managerial actors. It is clear in British crime statistics (Rogers & Coaffee 2005) that young people are in fact the most victimised group in this sense, far outweighing the perception of their criminality (to be discussed in the next section). However the catch-all approaches to youth participation, the under-representation of youth in policy (2.2 & 7) amounts to the lack of an applied awareness of how important distinct youth identities and activities are to their experience of public space. Furthermore, there is a lack of an understanding at how important autonomous activity in public space is for young people as they test the boundaries of normative morality during this period of transition but also building experiences of social interaction.

Prior lived experiences of intolerance on all sides, through an increasingly institutionalised mistrust of youth (Kelly 2003), and a weak and fearful understanding of difference in wider society (Furedi 2002) have developed into a problematic situation for the management of urban public space. The lack of a direction in managerial endeavour targeting young people in Newcastle has led to a point where the managerial tactics and strategies levied at youth services are not structured to manage the kinds of tensions that occur between youth groups, increasingly these strategies seek to 'design out' the tensions rather than address them in any meaningful way (White 1996; Atkinson & Laurier 1998), though later some of the changes underway to address some of the shortcomings of this kind are discussed (9.1).

Developed next are the spatial practices levied towards young people by the business community, the media, the public and management actors tasked with controlling and developing the city centre. By emphasising the importance of perception in spatial practice the 'representations of youth' which underpin the following discussion on the impact of the strategies (chapter 7) allows for the differences between broad

subgroups and key intermediary actors to be developed. This leads onto the enunciation of clear examples of the explicit tactics applied in practice to OES (chapter 9).

8.2 Spatial Practice on Location: Interpreting the Perception of Youth Activity

So far this chapter has looked at the collective distinctions that bind groups together isolating key examples of commercially driven distinctions. Lifestyle can, therefore, be seen as a representation of use-values through the performance of activity on location[46]. Tensions in social differentiation between young people belonging to different groups have also been developed; in order to make clear the importance of these tensions it is now necessary to look at how they can be constructed as an 'other' by external actors and 'outsiders', and to relate this external perception to the wider frame of social exclusion and regulation of young people in public space.

The subgroups central to the control and supply of conceptual representations of space (discussed in chapter 7) are also responsible in many ways for the regulation of public space. The representations of youth (perceptions) inform the policy and structure of responses. This is the theoretical framework of perception and reaction as a singular moment of spatial production through spatial practice made concrete (see chapter 3.2). Thus the perceptions of key actors are addressed here, these include, managerial actors; wider media institutions of Newcastle; the business perceptions of youth; and a parallel of this commercial perception with rhetoric's of anti-social behaviour. The result of this approach to perception is to develop an understanding of the potential for tensions to arise in the interplay between the lived representational spaces of youth (8.1) and the conceptual designs (7.2).

The analysis of media articles (as key representations of youth), interviews with local businesses, police and NCC (as key perceptions of youth), form the empirical threads informing a realisation of spatial practice *in situ*. Thence assisting in a demonstration of how the presence and perception of youth has become seen, writ large, as problematic in the context of urban renaissance, and also creates opportunities to compare and contrast the implicit spatial practices of commercial and managerial sub-groups with youth in the production of public space.

Perception of Aesthetics, the 'Appropriate' & the 'Anti-social': Users, Activities & Demographic tensions

As has been shown there are certain values and perceptions of the appropriate way to use public space implicit in the strategic policies of managerial institutions (see chapter 7). In addition the ongoing urban renaissance in Newcastle suggests that redevelopment has created or emphasised the commercial concept of OES (7.2), and potentially the majority of public space throughout the city centre. Given the demographic categorisation of activities represented in research on CCM (Reeve 1996) and the similarity between this method of categorisation and both the new distinctions anti-social behaviour, and increasing powers given to security agencies, and agents, to regulate 'nuisance' and 'public order offences' (D.E.T.R 1999: 127), there is potential for youth activity, as described above, to become linked to the perception of youth criminality (Williams & Johnstone 2000)[47]. When this is brought together with the representational spaces and spatial practices of youth (described above) there is a clear disparity between the recreational use-values of youth groups and prescriptive conceptual designs of management partnerships.

Developed here is the perception of youth from those external to their distinct group, from 'the outsiders'. These are arguably the more powerful actors in the 'corridors of power', those closer to the apparatus of local government and those engaged through partnership with managerial institutions in the wider development, control and management of commercial public space.

As discussed earlier (chapter 3 & 8.1) young people are in fact active consumers in commercial spaces, they do buy products, though it is not the only purpose of their forays into the city centre. Use, in fact, is a combination of both active uses (such as skating etc) and passive uses (such as 'hanging out' etc)[48], which can be linked to collective distinctions of identity. The reappropriations of public space by young people are in fact a series of individual and collective differential processes through which young people are able to engage in autonomous social activity. It is the potential of this social activity to inconvenience or intimidate other more lucrative

demographics, based on the spatial practices of perception, that cause tensions with the representations of space produced by management[49].

The rise of aesthetic judgements through the development of moral panics in the wider public understanding of youth have not been explored in depth thus far and will be developed now linking the perception of youth to the pressures and practices of management, business and public life.

The Media & the Public: How youth are presented in the Press

It is an old adage in the media industry that 'bad press sells copy' and it shall be argued that nowhere is this more relevant today than in relation to young people. The majority of press releases included in this discussion are from the local print media[50]. Where clear examples are available reference is also made to wider national trends in the representation of youth. These representations can be seen to affect the perception of youth in wider society, though it is not the intention to uncritically map a hypodermic model of the media into this case study[51]. These examples simply illustrate some of the representations of youth in the media, specific perceptions of youth garnered from interviews are included later.

Neither is it the intention of this research to suggest that the representations of youth in the media are always negative. Attempts to balance the representation of youth do exist. Some examples from both sides, and more neutral approaches, are used here to show the range of views from which people *may* draw information and form opinions, within a spatial context of Newcastle such can be applied.

Positive perception: Little Angels

First, a positive view of youth in the local media under the heading 'Angels with Pierced Faces' (Figure 33)[52]. The perceptions of youth are openly discussed referring to young people via direct quotes of those pictured. The tensions between youth groups (specifically the Charvers and Goths) are explained in simple terms, outlining the principle that these are 'decent kids' coming from 'good homes'.

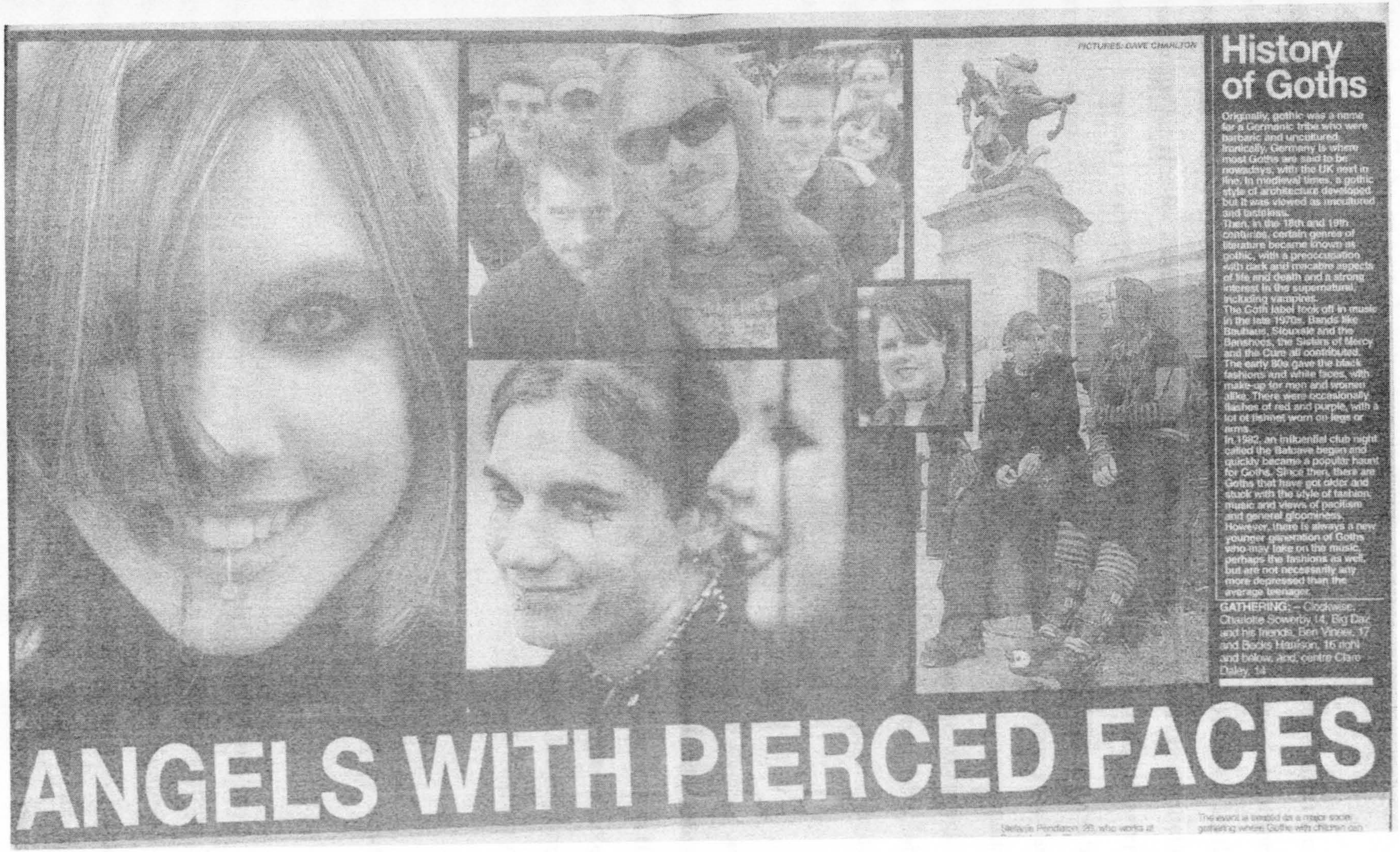


Figure 33. 'Angels with Pierced Faces' taken from the '*Evening Chronicle*'

The article makes an attempt to raise awareness of some loose generalisations that treat youth, and Goths, as a single homogenous group.

It goes one step further by also gathering opinions from one of the more vocal local traders on OES. This links explicitly to both those who have complained about their presence, and implicitly, to the specialty retailers who arguably are a factor in the attraction of the area for these young people[53]. It also by doing so raises the conflict of interests between recreational uses of the space by the Goths and the need of several specialty stores. The clientele of which are older customers who make use of the commercial services available on OES (e.g. the dry cleaners, holiday shop and seamstresses in particular have emphasised this point repeatedly). The generalisation of Goths as any youth who wears black and connections to negative examples of crazed gothic youths (from America in this case) is even mentioned here, also highlighting the difference between how people view this group and general beliefs that are often related to this demographic uncritically:

'*The case of gun crazy American school kids like Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, who carried out the Columbine school massacre, shows how people are labelled just because they wear black. This is the exact opposite of what true Goths believe in they are pacifists and to a lesser degree, passive. And although not all the young people who congregate in Eldon Square would like to be called Goths (some don't even wear black) the majority say time and time again they are not asking for much from the rest of society.*

"We just want a bit of peace and quiet and to be able to wear what we want to wear."" (Anon 2002)

This article manages to cover a wide range of issues, highlighting both the representation of young people as perpetrators of crime and as potential victims. The above quote sums up many aspects of the perceptions of Goths in one paragraph and citation. Whilst denouncing the subjective labelling of Goths as 'kids in black' it clarifies this distinction 'some of them don't even wear black' in the same paragraph. Further it makes the connection to moral ground by linking the moral panic in America over dysfunctional gothic youth and violence by referring to the Columbine

massacre and the stereotypes of Marylin Manson; who research and interviews with the superstar[54] have proven is not a Goth in the conventional sense (Gunn 1999; Moore 2002); but has been frequently labelled as a 'shock rocker' for his role in challenging moral norms and values. The positive view attempted in this article has been reflected by some members of the public in letters to local newspapers, for example:

'*There is a continuing controversy over the topic of "the Goth community" which congregate in the Eldon Square area of Newcastle on Saturdays. As a regular visitor to Newcastle each and every week I have seen these folk and never witnessed any misbehaviour. Maybe we ought to "live and let live" and not use their mode of dress to complain and condemn these people. People of all types tend to congregate, especially around the Monument area, and little is said about them.*' (Anon 2003f)

Another response in a national commuters magazine demanded that the press were not 'to stereotype youth' by setting them into neat little groups (Anon 2003e), a problem that has been discussed in this research (3.1 & 8.1). In this sense the media can act as both a tool for raising awareness of youth and as a forum for the voicing of opinions in favour of their diverse identities[55]. However, even in more tolerant articles the vernacular of the language used emphasises youth as a 'disorderly' and 'troublesome' group, fudging the lines of use between day and night, as well as the types of users that hang out and pass through the square at various times:

'*It is hoped the violence on Friday and Saturday nights does not escalate. Perhaps the inscription on the War Memorial, the single word Peace, is a message to heed when youthful arguments start*' (McClintock 2003)

Interestingly there are no clear links in the media of positive youth stories relating specifically to Charvers. There seems to be a general disinterest at the local level in the marketability of this group as newsworthy and little in a positive light has been produced. One recent national television broadcast was produced by a partisan journalist on the theme of Chavs in the wake of a growth of interest nationally in this group (Burchill 2005). In this production Working Class culture was romanticised and unveiled referring both to 'This Happy Breed' (Lean & Coward 1944) and to one of

the original reality TV shows 'The Family'[56]. Connections to modern day Chav culture were discussed by a range of celebrities and academics, but a telling reference to the attitude underpinning Chav culture is relevant here in the presenters discussion of why she is 'proud to be a Chav':

'*People are scared of Chav style because Middle Class tastes has made beige the norm, so when they see a bit of colour and vulgarity it makes them realise how bland their own lives are*' (Burchill 2005)

Inside out: the 'even hand'

A significant attempt to develop understanding of the local alternative cultures was undertaken in 2003 by a regional television program, tasked with investigating alternate lifestyles and activities of people in the Northeast. This television program called 'Inside out' on the BBC had a focus on Goth culture as a part of the Halloween special show in November 2003 (Jackson 2003). Interestingly as a part of this show the presenter interviewed Goths, a local vicar and the public presenting with an 'even hand' the perceptions and activities of Goths. This discussion addressed both the traditional moral panic over gothic symbolism and lifestyle (vampires, sexual excess, pagan religions, moral malaise) as well as emphasising the harmless social display and performance of style as central to the collective activities of Goths in the northeast.

Perhaps most significant was that the presenter of the show engaged in participant observation of the Goths in Newcastle city centre, getting a 'gothic makeover' at the specialist clothing store on OES and moving through the city centre as a 'Goth'. When asked about this experience:

'*There were plenty of sniggers and derogatory comments, but these were almost entirely indirect. I could see people looking, nudging each other and laughing, but these were impossible to catch on camera. There were a couple of abusive comments, but these were under people's breath.*

When I actually approached people to talk to, most people were polite, helpful and in some cases intrigued enough to ask me about my appearance... It was obvious to me that people were uneasy because they simply had no idea what being a Goth is about. All the stereotypical responses came in to play. Somehow dark clothing is seen as dangerous. Spikey finger jewellery is claw like and therefore evil. It's an automatic response to outward signals that are unfamiliar and to them unintelligible – the fear of the unknown'

Similarly as part of the Chav's documentary (Burchill 2005) some even-handed approaches were visible amongst the highly opinionated ranks of critics and celebrants. Positive Chav role models were lifted out of popular culture, ranging from the Battersby family on the popular soap opera 'Coronation Street' and the Slater family, similarly from 'Eastenders', to the '*pop culture royalty*' such as David Beckham, Wayne Rooney, Lady Sovereign, Jimmy Saville and more. These are presented as 'working class kids made good' through luck or skill, thus gaining access to the finances necessary to appropriate the symbols of success in the form of 'brash' (ibid.) conspicuous consumption underpinning the desire for designer goods that is inherent in Charver identity. Significantly Burchill is aware of the negative perception of Charver culture across the national:

'*The Working Class used to be the backbone of this nation. They were paragons of generosity, industry and chastity. A product of strong unions, a thriving manufacturing economy and fear of what the neighbours might say. So how did we get from that to this. Headlines of hate*' (Burchill 2005)

Negative perception: Demons and Devils

As suggested earlier, the media representations of youth can at times be portrayed as an attitude whereby 'bad press makes good copy'. This raises tensions in the treatment of youth as perpetrators of crime in contradiction to the treatment of them as 'angels' in danger of victimisation, and who just want to be left alone. Whilst, as it

has been shown, this is not a universal 'blackening' of youth but a context sensitive

Six youngsters arrested over fight on city green

Gangs' brawling blights historic square

By PETER YOUNG
Political Editor

SHOPPERS watched as rival gangs fought a pitched battle in a square near Newcastle's main war memorial.

One bystander said about 20 youths were involved in the fighting, as crowds of youngsters cheered.

Police were called and made several arrests following the fracas, in Newcastle's Old Eldon Square, which contains the war memorial.

The disturbance has revived a long-running row over gangs of youngsters who gather close to shops and businesses in the square, known as Hippy Green.

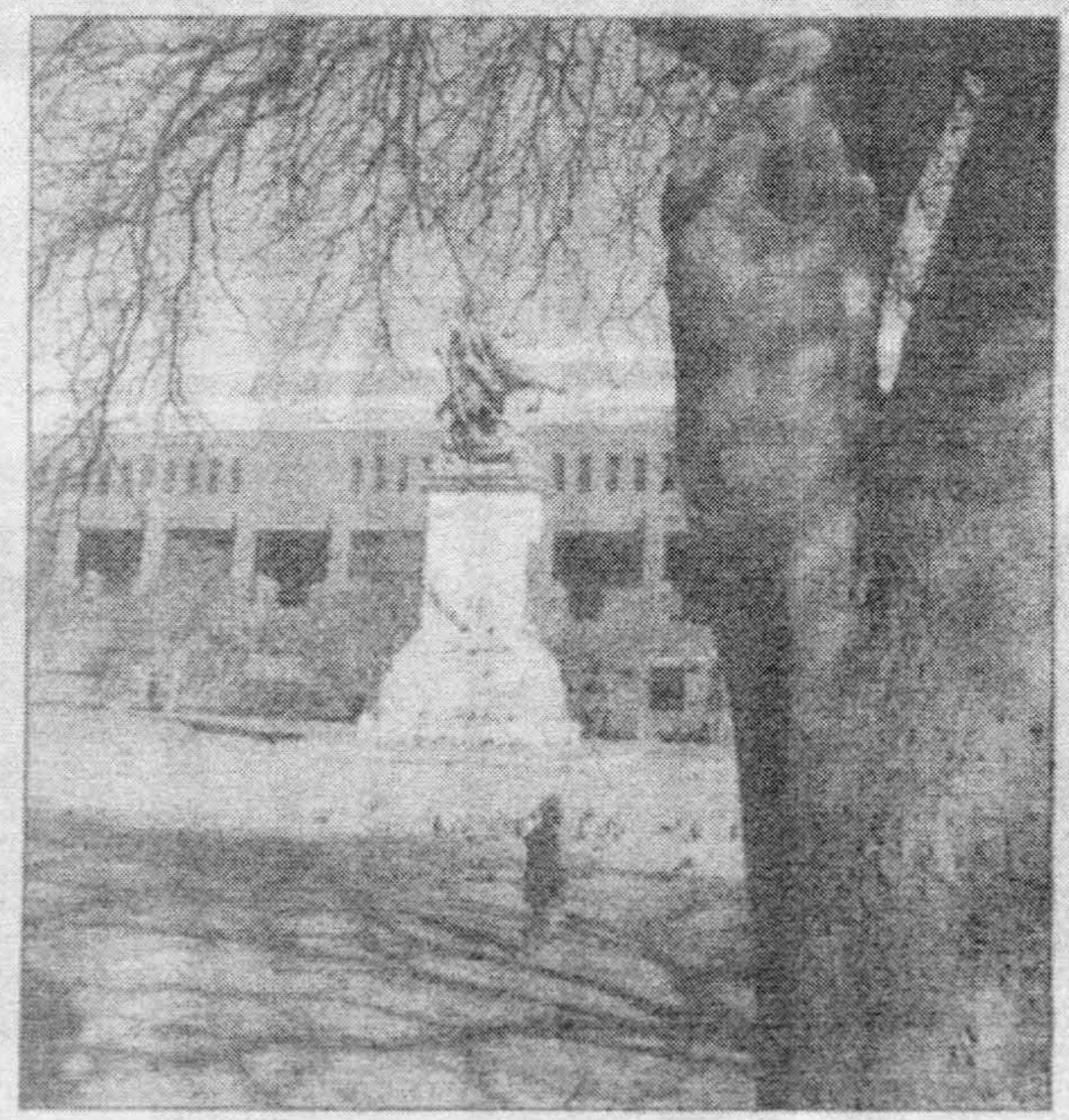
Shopkeepers say customers feel intimidated and one, Helena Holford, says the city council should deploy street wardens to help keep order.

Police say the majority of youngsters are law-abiding but they are keeping a close watch and will clamp down on any trouble.

Ms Holford, a fashion designer who runs Pinpoint, a wedding gown store in Old Eldon Square, now stays closed on Saturdays and opens late on Thursday evenings instead because of the problems.

She was planning to re-open on Saturdays in March ready for the wedding season but is now having second thoughts. "I don't think I can re-open if there is a risk of rioting in the streets," she said.

Ms Holford said the battle involved rival groups of youngsters known as the Charvers and the



PITCHED BATTLE – police were called to Newcastle's Old Eldon Square, near the city's war memorial, after fighting between youngsters

Figure 34. 'Gangs Brawling Blights Historic Square' taken from the '*Evening Chronicle*'

portrayal where by the nature of the story dictates the tone of the report. The media has however frequently been accused of demonisation of young people as discussed in youth worker news sheets such as '*Young People Now*' (see chapter 3).

A range of negative stories can be seen in the local press relating predominantly to youth violence and criminal activity (Anon 2003b, 2003g, 2004d). Such reports on themes of violence (Hickman 2003), vandalism (Anon 2004c), racism (Anon 2003h), theft (Hickman 2004) public disorder (Anon 2004a) and anti-social behaviour are frequently seen in both local and national publications. This was recognised as a wider issue by more than one representative of the city council, for example:

'*I think there's a big perception problem to be honest I think the perceptions are compounded by some of the press coverage that they get I guess it's rather national rather than citywide, that kids are trouble*'[57]

The incident above represents one of the worst altercations between Charvers and Goths on Old Eldon Square. The manner of its reporting shows a partisan approach towards youth in general, and does not discuss the youth by interviewing them. As such it represents only the views of one particular group; that of one local store owner, opposed to the use of the space by youth in any manner. Key points in the article represent his view:

'*...the battle involved rival groups of youngsters known as the Charvers and the Goths. "Fists were flying people were terrified...These people need to be moved on and we need some sort of byelaw to stop them gathering en masse on the green. It's affected my business and we don't get any compensation. We get complaints all the time from customers about the awful language and litter".*' (Young 2003)

The links of youth to disorder, vandalism and violence in the media are common and widespread and it is this that has been a reoccurring presentation of youth in the local media, particularly with relation to Charvers (though this term is rarely explicitly used in the tabloid or broadsheet press), Skaters and graffiti artists in the city of Newcastle.

One good example of how both groups are represented in the local media appeared in the '*Evening Chronicle*' (Figure 34). The article takes a somewhat dismissive stance of the tensions between the Goths and Charvers:

'*Recent antics in Newcastle's Old Eldon Square, which saw the Goths and Charvas embroiled in fisticuffs, has catapulted the two groups into the news again*' (Leese 2003)

Some salient points are forthcoming from this however, it is noted that the Goths are often different even from each other whereas the Charvers image is much more homogenous, further it is suggested that there is now a dependency on each other for the bounding of the distinctions which give each group their collective identity:

' "*Two years ago the Goths may not have seen themselves as Goths until they started rivalries with the Charvas and then belonging to a group becomes important – so now they probably do say their Goths*".' (ibid)

The assumptions of older people involved in mod and rocker rivalries are integrated into the article, in fact linking into an interview with one elder resident of the city whose grand-daughter *is* considered a Goth:

' "*I think there were the same rivalries today as there were when I was younger , but I think it was all quieter in my day... We were rivals with the rockers, but nothing as aggressive as you might get today.*" ' (ibid)

This is indicative of a general attitude that is implicit but often unspoken in the perception of young people. This can be linked back to the designification of youth opinion through the parental imperative of 'managing' the 'problems' of youth. When combined with the assumption that young people will eventually 'grow out of it' an embedded misunderstanding of lifestyle is created through these misrepresentations of young people by means of the vague or ambiguous language inherent is such productions, this can be called a 'tergiversation'[58] around the significance of youth identity. Thence an embedded misunderstanding around the nature and form of use of public space develops; the contribution of young people to public life and experience

In a palaver over charvas

Rivalries have always existed between youth groups. First it was the mods and the rockers, then it was the punks and the New Romantics. Now it's the goths and the charvas. SARAH LEESE looks at the friction between the two groups

Rocking on from films to clothes

Figure 35. Evening Chronicle (Leese 2003)

becomes designified, in turn becoming an embedded assumption in the 'institutional mistrust of youth' (Kelly 2003). This itself is framed through problems of access to space but also to decision-makers and the processes of hegemonic citizenship embedded in this institutional structure which, at best, is not conducive to understanding the needs and wants of young people as users of public space (ibid). Figure 35 represents the same 'caricaturisation' of youth symbolism through a melee of conflicting images and styles, but whilst some and even all of these may have relevance to the imagery of youth they have little real foundation in the lived experiences of these contemporary young people and reinforce misunderstandings and condescension (see figure 35).

Skate culture is also represented negatively at times in this way through the local media linking into the dangers of careening around the streets and the damage to public architecture, but these are often tongue in cheek indictments of the activity rather than a wholesale demonisation of the group (figure 36) being referred to as 'wayward boarders'. The moralising appears to be over the dangers of the activity, posed less to the youth but more to the older and frail consumers in the city who may be at risk by the nimble but questionable skills of young people on wheels.

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LOCAL NEWS

Council promises to find new area for youngsters after centre ban

Skaters set for own rink

By PETER YOUNG
Political Editor

SKATEBOARDERS facing a clampdown in Newcastle's main shopping centre could get their own rink.

The city council is planning to extend by-laws banning skateboarding following complaints.

But council chiefs today promised to do all they can to find an area where youngsters can skateboard without causing a nuisance.

Exhibition Park close to the city centre is one place where facilities could be provided.

The council will also investigate whether any organisations are interested in building a commercial rink.

It is seeking by-laws to ban skateboarders around the War Memorial at the Haymarket and on the Blue Carpet artwork outside the Laing Art Gallery.

They are already banned from the ceremonial way outside the Civic Centre and Eldon Square War Memorial.

Council officials claim they have received complaints about damage and the nuisance to passers-by.

Youngsters say they have nowhere to go and city councillors will consider setting aside specially-designated areas at a meeting of the cabinet tomorrow.

The idea comes from the community committee which agreed to seek the new by-laws. But members also decided to ask the cabinet to provide alternative areas for skateboarders as a priority.

Chairman Coun Nick Forbes said: "We feel it's a bit unfair to stop skateboarders without providing them with any alternative. We don't want to shift the problem to another place where there isn't a by-law."

NO-GO AREA – The Haymarket War Memorial

The council has carried out a survey among skateboarders and council leader Coun Tony Flynn said he will be asking the leisure department to come up with proposals.

"We can't enforce a ban unless facilities are available for skateboarders," he added. "We have to recognise this is a sport and we have to provide facilities for young people.

"I can understand people's annoyance if skateboarders are ruining public facilities but on the other hand we have a responsibility to young people. I can understand the young people's point of view. They have a legitimate gripe.

"I would like to see some provision pretty quickly whether it is run by the council or by a private organisation.

"It could be indoors or outdoors but I don't think it is beyond the wit of the council to do something to provide facilities in a central location. There are facilities elsewhere in the North East."

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Figure 36a. Collected articles relating to the treatment of skateboarding in Newcastle upon Tyne

Kids facing ban from Memorial and artwork

CAUSING DAMAGE AND DANGER – skateboarders are being banned from more and more areas in the city

Carpeting for the wayward skateboarders

By PETER YOUNG
Political Editor

A BAN is to be slapped on skateboarders to stop them damaging Newcastle's Blue Carpet artwork.

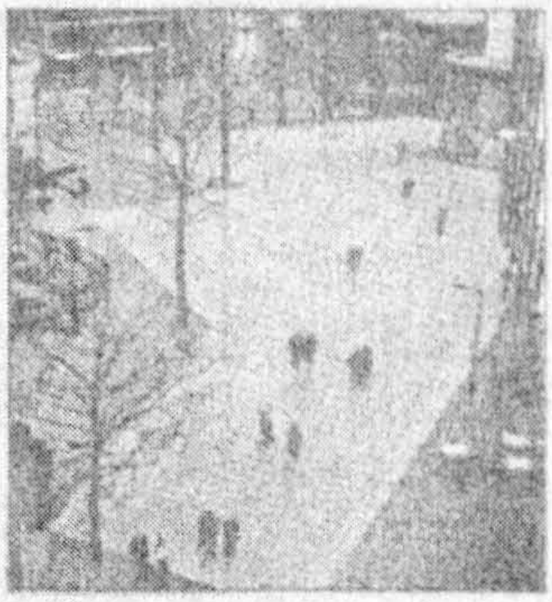
A new by-law is proposed to prevent youngsters using the Blue Carpet as an unofficial skateboard park.

The clampdown will also include the area around the South African War Memorial next to Haymarket Metro Station, also plagued by skateboarders.

Council chiefs say boarders are a menace to passers-by and are damaging the Blue Carpet, which cost £1.8 million and the War Memorial.

If the proposal is backed at a meeting of Newcastle Council's constitutional committee next Friday, it will then go to the Government for approval.

Committee chairman, Coun Nick Forbes, said: "This isn't about stopping people skateboarding, it's about stopping them skateboarding where they



REPELLING BOARDERS – the Blue Carpet

may cause an obstruction to other people."

New by-laws can take up to a year but the council is planning to adopt a Government model which means the move will be fast-tracked to allow the regulations to come into force quickly.

Skateboarders are already banned from the War Memorial in Old Eldon Square and from the Ceremonial Way outside the Civic Centre. The Blue Carpet in a new public square outside the Laing Art Gallery has been a magnet for skateboarders since it was unveiled at the start of the year.

They are attracted by the wide open space and use the street furniture in the square for jumps.

Youngsters are accused of showing contempt for North East war heroes by using the paved around the South African Memorial as a skate park.

The Memorial, erected in memory of soldiers from North East regiments who died in the Boer Wars between 1880 and 1902, is a Grade Two listed building and skateboarders are jumping off the steps.

"In both cases skateboarders are causing a nuisance and a danger to people in addition to the damage," said a Civic Centre official.

People who break the by-laws can be taken to court and fined up to £500. Several have already been fined for skateboarding at Old Eldon Square.

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Figure 36b. Collected articles relating to the treatment of skateboarding in Newcastle upon Tyne

The Commercial: How OES & Youth are perceived by Business

The one negative perception of youth by local traders has been touched upon in articles such as the 'gang brawl' (figure 34). Whilst this is attitude that has appeared more than once in the local press; what has become clear through the interviews with local store operators is that the concept of OES and the perception of youth are closely intertwined from this viewpoint. In many ways this appears to be common sense knowledge; that there are different perceptions of what appropriate behaviour in public is amongst different traders, as there are amongst the council and amongst young people is no surprise; but what is significant is the different extent to which decision-makers engage with the opinions of these subgroups, and represent the needs and wants of each differently through strategic policy (7.1) and specific actions and tactics (9.2) affecting public space.

Underpinned by a combination of commercial concepts and more sacred representations of public space (i.e. both a shopping and a sacred space), the perception of youth by commercial actors, particularly in this case smaller local traders, is thus informed by an emergent conflict between what is perceived as

BOX 9

Do you think of the Eldon Square area as a public space or as a part of the shops?

'Oh no it's definitely a public space, definitely it's for everybody to use but the thing is because it's been taken over by some not everybody can use it. You know, people with children aren't coming down here, old people feel threatened, women feel threatened, you know? I don't mind walking up and down the street but you have to think well, you see them doing things you don't like and you think well why should I be subjected to that, I see somebody hockeling [spitting] *in front of me or F'in this and F'in that, just generally being not very nice. But it's all right for us to be subjected to that as long as they can do what they want and stand there; you know its give and take and there's no giving on their behalf. I think the more they know that they're causing trouble the happier they are. Without a doubt because they could quite easily stay on the grass or on that seated area over there and leave the walkway free for all and sundry that want to use it; but they don't. They sit on the steps outside the shop and block the doorway which lasts all of about 120 seconds once I realise they're out there.'*

Local Trader – Summer 2003

BOX 10

Would you say you were for or against young people being allowed to gather outside here?

'Totally against, I'm totally against it, education wise it comes from the parents, there are stories in the papers that they're 12 and 14. The way they get dressed up if they've gone missing or they've been accosted or got into a bad crowd, well how do they get into a bad crowd? Their parents do know where they come from. They talk about how they don't do any harm and they're from good backgrounds, different formula or different stages of whatever! Whether its council houses or whether its Darras Hall that's their thing, the Goths; and that's all right but as I say its as if people just say "They can get dressed up at 8 o'clock on a Saturday morning and go out" and nobodies bothered about what happens to them, where they go and who their interested in, or getting interfered with by.'

Interview with local trader – Spring 2003

appropriate behaviour for OES and the perception of young peoples activity. The awareness of a conflict between youth groups is variable amongst traders but where it exists there is no real aesthetic objection to youth, more concern over the effect that the sheer numbers of young people and the location of their 'inappropriate' activities in the OES area will serve to deter other more affluent, and hence profitable consumers, from using the services supplied by these specialist businesses.

It has been previously stated that when a space becomes dominated by one particular group it '*loses its inclusive status*' (Worpole & Greenhalgh 1996: 15). This is a key concern of the more vocal local traders in opposition to young peoples presence on OES (see box 9). The contradiction inherent in this approach to defining the acceptability of young people can be seen in this statement by a local businessman who felt strongly that; '*They have no right to be here, it's a public space!*' (see also Box 10).

In this case the perception of youth activity is one of an anti-social and intimidating demographic. When combined with the sheer numbers of them gathering at the Green it is seen, by several local traders, as a domination of the space; one which discourages uses more conducive to the needs of local business. However, in some

cases there are misgivings about the rights traders have to complain about this inappropriate use, represented here as an 'unfortunate' situation:

'*Our only misgivings of the place is on a Saturday when unfortunately the Goths and their rivals often congregate round there and they often sit on our steps leading up to our shop, either rolling their own cigarettes or y'know. We sort of tend to move them on...*'[59]

Here there is an implicit acknowledgement, in the reluctance of the respondent to explicitly state the treatment of youth by owners, of the bias inherent in the view of many store owners. Thus the tension is made explicit between the needs of local business to operate to their maximum potential and the needs of youth for a space to gather in the city centre:

'*We're trying to attract good quality customers coming to us and when you've got litter louts and people smoking cigarettes it doesn't really go hand in hand with our professional market.*'[60]

The discussion ceases to be about the rights of people to access a public area and becomes a discourse of blame. Several of the shops owners / staff made reference to the increase in litter in the area during times when youth are congregating, the blockage of access to their premises due to youths using the steps outside as a seating area and to the removal of the parking metres that used to line the service road before the pedestrianisation, thus the physical boundary that this created between the square itself and the shops[61].

The conceptual spaces underpinning OES for local traders and their perception of appropriate uses of OES (see 7.2) conflict somewhat in practice; the multiple uses to which OES can be put reinforce this (see chapter 6). On one hand many traders see OES as a commercial area, as it is the site of the business premises and highlight this as the main source of tensions initially. In discussing whether or not youth should be allowed access to OES as a public space, many traders moved the emphasised to the inappropriate and disrespectful activities of young people in the sacred connotations of OES, despite citing the reasons for these tensions as commercial concerns. The

dynamism of interplay is clear, but both the legitimacy of concerns and the legitimacy of actions taken to support the primarily commercially driven complaints around youth activity are cast in a less than democratic light (see Box 10).

Both key concerns over youth as a victim and a perpetrator (3.2) are woven together into this discourse of commercial spatial practice. The businesses are at once both concerned with youth due to the impact of their presence on customers (as an intimidating and anti-social group) and at the same time are concerned with the unsupervised teenage youth being brought into danger through their spectacular displays in a world of 'risky strangers'.

Further muddying the waters of investigation here was the fact that each trader had a different opinion on the appropriateness of youth. Whilst the most vocal (those linked to complaints to the police, the council and the local press) are firmly opposed to young peoples presence; other have a range of views including a grim acceptance that nothing can be done, to an encouragement of the Goth and Charver cultures as symbols for the city and for the North East[62]. As such a homogenous perception of youth is not forthcoming; however the prevailing general perspective of young people is that it would be preferred by the local traders if they would gather elsewhere.

The other key commercial actor on OES takes the form of the Capital Shopping Centres (CSC) stakeholder partner in the Eldon Square Shopping Centre. When discussing the perceptions of youth with a senior management representative of CSC, tasked with the daily running of Eldon Square shopping centre, the identities and tensions between the two key groups (Goths and Charvers) were identified but not seen as a significant problem for the shopping centre, or for the activity of shopping in the city centre:

'They listen to different music, they dress differently, they have different approaches to life. I do think they come from, without sounding snobbish, different sectors of the community. But its not our job to manage them, I've got to say within the shopping centre it's a much tighter area and any potential problem is easily identified and therefore they tend not to come in.'[63]

A conclusive assessment of this standpoint is difficult but it is clear that 'the problem of youth' is not one that CSC consider to be theirs, nor of significant to the day-to-day operation of the shopping centre. The tighter rules and regulations within the shopping centre (see 7.2) allow for a more preventative approach to policing that is not possible in an open public space such as OES[64]. Thus tensions on the uses of the shopping centre and its proximity to OES are kept to a minimum.

The Council: Perceptions of youth by managers

So far its has been shown that the concept of OES as a public space is fragmented due, in part, to the diverse strategic policies and operational tactics of managerial subgroups (8.1) but also that the perception of youth in public space is fragmented as well. In this context it is useful to develop the perception of youth by some of these managerial groups. This will sit alongside the discussion of managerial conceptual spaces (chapter 7) before discussing some of the specific operational tactics through which they are interacted with in situ (chapter 9).

Again there are tensions between the views of different managerial subgroups - as their activities are different so are their perspectives of youth. For those closely connected to the management of green spaces youth as seen as important:

'*...certainly we see our young people as instrumental I mean a part of the services we provide should be directly marketed to them. I don't see them as being a problem at all I see the problem as being is in getting them involved in a sort of tangible way. That's not to say that we don't have massive successes because we do but they tend to be project related as opposed to a long standing dialogue with young people but that's difficult to promote and probably impossible to keep going actually because they grow up and they get different priorities in their lives.*'[65]

The transience of youth seems to be both socially and spatially a large problem for managerial actors. This has been reflected in the spatial typology of parks and green spaces (chapter 7.1), whilst tensions are relative to the youth groups on location at specific sites, these problems are replicated across the city in a range of situations. In this research the key concern is the city centre, and around OES, where the tensions

become more explicit due to the lack of what in this typological rhetoric's is referred to as 'play-space' (Worpole 2003).

Whilst the idea of youth consultation is encouraged, expected and required in local schemes this is rarely driven from an inclusive notion of participation. The lack of regulated best practice guidelines and 'joined up' management practices is evident across much of the city council in this regard. Where it exists it appears at a glance to be structured in a way which favours conducting the minimal requirement. As stated by a senior representative of Planning & Transportation:

'*...yes it does concern me but that's not my job, if you're with me. I'm not just washing my hands of that but I'm involved in highways and transportation and I'm involved in planning to a certain extent and developments like this* [bus concourse] *and what happens to the kids other parts of the council will look after and look to. There are people looking into the provision of a skateboard park, I don't want to do their job for them and I don't expect them to do my job either.*'[66]

Two key points are made here about the structure and method of Newcastle city council as a managerial actor. First, it is a fragmented institution, as has already been established. Second, key gatekeepers at crucial junctures in the councils operations must be aware of the connections and responsibilities they have to work as an integrated agency; rather than each key actor at these interstices jealously defending their own operational remit, as is suggested by the above actor from PTD. This problem is reinforced by the attitude of this particular officer, as almost polar to that amongst those tasked with integrating young people into the processes of local democracy (see chapter 9 – participation coordinator).

Whilst aware that the transitional nature of youth can thus be problematic; managers were aware in cases of tensions caused by the proximity of young people to commercial areas across the whole city of Newcastle, as well as in the city centre. This Ward councillor attempts to show that the wider tensions arising from the public perception of youth are understood by the city government:

'I know that the city centre has got a very specific role but I see the same thing happening in other parts of the city where young people congregate and there's not a lot of things to do. In the city centre there's nothing much else to do and its quite cheap to hang out you don't have to pay for it; you can do it if you haven't got the money and you can socialise and see folk and look good and just meet your mates and that's what young people want to do all over the city. It happens in all different areas outside shops or on the edge of shops because it's a place that's light, and you feel safe because you're all together...but what that has; it affects other people because they think it's threatening to see all these young people so it's a worry. "They're outside my shop. They're stopping people coming into my shop". They might not be but that's a good excuse isn't it, because they're there. But that happens everywhere...they say "Oh they stop people coming into our shop" and all this sort of stuff because they're there and get the police to move them on.'[67]

Crucial to this situation is the lack of an inclusive system for structuring and assessing the performance of local government within public space in the city centre. Increasingly performance is negotiated with stakeholder partners rather than citizens and success measured by economic performance indicators; though again where research on this exists it is often driven through gentrification and surveillance research and focused on the disadvantaged groups such as homeless, vagrant populations (Coleman 2004b). Here tensions are more explicit; the focus on a minority population is defined through subcultural subgroups whose demographic background is closer to what may be considered as legitimate in the socio-economic categorisation of users (see Reeve 1996). Yet this research suggests that these subgroups are still legislated against implicitly by these institutionalised spatial practices of misconception amongst managers (see chapter 10).

The reconciliation of the need for commercial activity and the presence of youth becomes a problem that needs to be dealt with, not always because of a lived reality of anti-social behaviour but certainly because of a perception that youth will discourage other users from engaging in commercial activity by dominating a particular liminal public space on the fringes of managerial control. This is essentially the key role of public space, as the last truly free space in the city of today.

The perception of appropriateness and the perception of youth activities combined with the fairly powerless position of youth related services in the city council has led to a mixed response and varying perceptions of youth. Whilst many key actors, placed at somewhat intermediary positions within the city council (i.e. key decision-makers on planning proposals, team leaders and department or service heads) are often aware of the tensions involved in trying to engage with young people, the tendency is to keep to the 'urban renaissance' agenda, privileging a centralised strategy and design-led process over more participatory approaches. As a result more implicit strategies evolve for the control of space and the control of how young people use it (chapter 9)

This awareness was voiced explicitly by the CCM, bringing the tensions of managing OES for diverse managerial subgroups together, with specific reference to the tensions on OES:

'*...it's a perceived problem to the traders, it's a perceived problem to the police, more so for two reasons, first of all 500 or 600 kids congregate can be intimidating to people using that part of the highway, and also what surprised me they have to put out officers particularly on Saturday afternoon to protect the kids from others who come in to intimidate them, particularly from the walkways higher up. The kids themselves by-and-large are decent law-abiding kids and that's why they've ended up there.*'[68]

The dual perception of youth as problematic and as in need of protection seems to accentuate the problems in managing youth as two alternative strategies are appropriate for each. This still raises the issue of perception and perceived danger

BOX 11

Do you think that young people have become a problem in terms of that perception of safety?

'*There is a perceived worry, not just because they're young but because there is a lot of them, because you've got a big crowd and I think that whatever the case may be even young people might feel intimidated by that crowd.*'

Interview with general public – Male (33) Spring 2004

even more as the presence of police officers has been seen to create problems in the wider public perception of OES. The problem here then becomes public perceptions and public uncertainty as to whether the police are there to protect the youth from risky strangers or to police their anti-social activities. Managers then have to react to the precautionary principle of consumers who they are courting through the re-imaging of the city centre as a clean and safe environment (Box 11)

The General Public: perception of youth by consumers

It is important not to forget about the public and the other areas of community interest whose perceptions affect the OES area. This is here twofold; there are the perceptions of the youths that gather in the city centre by members of the general public, and the connection made by local businesses and managers to the intimidation factor generated by the numbers of young people, primarily in relation to the elderly.

When discussing the green with members of the general public in informal interviews, the awareness of their presence and the role that youth play in the city centre is clearly stated, specifically in relation to their use of particular areas such as the Haymarket monument and OES:

'*I sat out there over the summer just watching them, they've got they're own social structure down there, seriously! It's just that there's so many of them now it causes a few problems for other people.*'[69]

This fascination has been echoed by some other members of the public suggesting that perhaps marketing the green as an asset rather than a problem could attract people to the area, increasing the image of a culturally diverse city.

'*You see plenty of kids dashing aboot the place in the centre, like, but mostly the skate kids used to be up Haymarket as its, y'know oot the way an that, the Goths an them stay doon the hippy green*'[70]

This general awareness was one that demonstrated a lack of interest in the youths themselves, but a variable awareness of the fact that they were in the city and there

are distinct spaces with which youths were associated. There are several salient points to be brought forth here. Firstly, the reaction of businesses does not reflect the general public opinion of young people on OES, the concerns over their moral activity comes from a small group of extremely vocal local traders. The general public seem to be less concerned or fearful of youth than was first expected, what does come forth is condescension towards youth, in general treating them with disregard as a harmless inconvenience. This also suggests that young people are seen as having certain locations that they identify with, and that this significantly affects how other people view the area with a noticeable reaction in management to the perception of these public concerns resulting, in turn, in a noticeable impact on the type and form of actions directed at 'managing' these spaces (chapter 9).

The Ex-servicemens Association

Four key concepts were discussed earlier in chapter 6, these were OES as; a public space; a commercial space; a locus of the transit network and as a sacred or memorial space. There is one concept in particularly that has been a strong recurring theme in the way in which perceptions of appropriate activity are assessed and responded to across the entire range of actors involved in the production of OES in the city centre.

The concept of OES as a 'sacred space' appears to underpin many of the pressures directed at young people in the area. A key subgroup to be addressed in discovering if this was an explicit exclusion - as a manifestation of hegemony in practice - took the form of the ex-servicemens association and the role of this minority interest group on the Old Eldon Square Working Group[71]. Implicitly the perception of this groups interests by the city council appear to function as a justification of exclusionary activities - or the righteous attempts of concerned managers to relocate an inappropriate demographic - and thus improve the 'renaissance' of the area, whilst also protecting the war memorial (see chapter 6),

The concept of OES held by this group *is* that of a sacred space (see chapter 6), and respect for the Ex-servicemen - as well as for the emotive connotations of the memorial itself to both the wider population and the cultural identity of Newcastle upon Tyne - has repeatedly been raised in interviews with the city council and

Northumbria police as a key factor in their perception of youth activities as inappropriate. A senior police representative discussed these tensions noting:

'Some of them at Old Eldon Square, and we've used that loose term of Goths to describe them, but it touches on the skateboarders as well through the Boer war memorial at the Haymarket, if you look at paving slabs around it, have been damaged by skateboards. Some war veterans are offended by that. Equally when you go to Old Eldon Square if you have a look there, perhaps the people of my generation and your generation and I know they're separate ones, there can still be sensitive issues in relation to that.'[72]

There is a clear distinction here between what managerial groups perceived to be the awareness held by the Ex-servicemen, particularly in relation to their objections towards the use of OES by young people, and the reality conveyed during discussions with Ex-servicemen in this research. It became clear that the objection held by the ex-servicemen was in relation to inappropriate activity, not the use of the space by a large number of youths. In fact there was a feeling amongst the veterans that young people should be encouraged to use the space to promote understanding and remembrance of the wars of the 20th century. However, they took exception and offence to the memorial being used as a skateable sculpture (see chapter 9). Whilst aware of the perception of danger typically felt around young people by older users the ex-servicemen also made the point that this could equally be applied to any strange group in large numbers within a small space. In this sense youth were no more significant than any other large public gathering:

'There is a threatening atmosphere when then is any large group that doesn't conform to the norm. However if a group of 50 odd military types in full uniform were to march down there then people would find it equally as threatening.'[73]

If any tensions were explicit then it was in fact the tensions between the use of the space by youths and the perceptions of them by local businesses that were felt to be the main issue rather than tensions with the sacred nature of the space:

'...young people horrify the shopkeepers, but are perfectly nice people'[74]

This argument is balanced however with an awareness of the negative impact young people can have. An emphasis was placed on the normative perceptions of people. Aesthetic distinctions were clearly made demonstrating that a difference between conventional and unconventional appearances may alter peoples perceptions of what is appropriate. The more outlandish the appearance the more judgements are likely to be levied at the protagonists. Whilst offering no potential solutions this was accepted as a normal part of experiencing OES by other users in the general public and attributed to young peoples spatial domination of the area:

'*Conventionally dressed people offer no threat and there are large numbers of them on any sunny afternoon, eating their sandwiches, laying on the grass but that's because they don't differ from the accepted norm.*'[75]

What was seen as more disrespectful than young peoples use-values were the attempts of the council to exploit the memorial as an open space by applying to put on events that detracted from the significant and symbolic meaning of OES (see9.1), such as; the temporary location of an ice rink in the winter (this was eventually placed on Times Square in the South end of the city centre), and the use of the area in conjunction with music and themed festival activities in the summer, such as the Orange sponsored live music festival (now spread throughout a range of venues in the city centre). The emphasis here is on 'appropriate' activities seen as forms of 'respectful leisure use'.

Hanging out: Appropriateness, Public Morality & Perceiving the Anti-social

When discussing the appropriateness of youth behaviour it has already been shown that a large part of the tensions between youth and business come from the concerns of businesses over the effect of youth activity, and the large numbers at gatherings, on the other users (i.e. their customers). When the footfalls in this area are lower, activities are generally focused on the seating circling the grass itself. Still this gathering of youth and the perception of worry, linked to such a large crowd of youth,

BOX 12

Why do you think young people do gather here in such numbers?

'Easy option, end of story, full stop. We're all lazy y'know, we've had it out at the meetings how they only come down with their skateboards and their footballs, I thought well hang on when I was in me teens and early twenties, I'm not trying to be a fuddy-duddy but I was in the local field or playing in the back yard, the back lane of wherever I lived at the time in the front street. I wouldn't dream of getting on the bus with me ball, or me skateboard, or me bike and coming down…'

Interview with local trader - Summer 2003

when combined with their language and rowdy behaviour, leading some local shop owners to question the appropriateness of youth as a user group in OES (Box 12)

Equally there were no significant objections to their presence by the veterans / ex-servicemen but equally significant was the measure of trepidation engendered by the numbers of youths that were in the area, as one veteran suggested:

'Young people don't realise the threat given to others simply by them being there doing nothing in very large groups and that threatens other peoples freedom.'[76]

The threat to peoples freedom would appear not to be a direct threat engendered by youth activities but a perceived threat created by their appearance and in fact their very presence. In the climate of fear and mistrust (chapter 3) youth become a deterrent to potential consumers and as a result an obstacle to the orderly flow of commerce for the local businesses on the square.

The perception of security has been a secondary theme in this chapter due to the position of the police as a key intermediary (see below). But it would be an oversight if the discussion of perception was concluded without making reference to the police[77]. Whilst the predominant concern of the police as actors in this sense is the maintenance of social order (see 9.3), police officers have consistently demonstrated amongst the clearest awareness of the tensions in management strategy and tactics.

How the tensions are often framed by managers is encapsulated well by this police official:

'I mean the thing is its been the hippy green for 40 odd years and its only in the last 6 or 7 years its become a conflict and I think the conflict is not necessarily between the traders and the Goths, its between the Goths and the Charvers and that conflict is causing conflict between the traders and whatever young people or old people or what ever people are outside. I think they keep pointing their fingers at the Goths but at the end of the day I couldn't care less what tag you put on the people its just the people in general en masse that are creating the atmosphere, you know it just makes the area unsavoury.'

Towards an Interplay in Spatial Production

The connection of strategies and tactics (chapter 7) to perception and spatial practice (chapter 8) is the essence of the interplay in spatial production. This is both *explicit* in the tensions between groups and how they approach OES and *implicit* in the tactics of managers and alternative or 'appropriated' use (Miles 2003).

If there is any intentional exclusion inherent in the regeneration plans or management tactics for OES then these must coalesce around the intermediary points of connection between subgroups. At these key points intermediary gatekeepers can be seen negotiating the operations of communication, and frequent lack thereof; the development of regeneration designs; tactics of policy implementation and processes and application of consultation between subgroups, both inside and outside of the managerial bureaucracy. This is the focal node of interplay for managers, through these key intermediary actors (chapter 9.1) and the actions through which they engage with young people as users of public space (9.2).

In developing the intermediary actors in interplay of spatial production it is necessary to bring forth the key intermediaries (9.1), and key examples of direct actions explicit in public space (9.2). This will be developed within the context of the entrepreneurial strategy and tactics discussed at the macro level of city council policy (7.1) and the micro level of the 3-scheme redevelopment plans (7.2) in order to assess the positive

and negative approaches to youth in practice. This also incorporates the appropriations and reactions of youth to these processes in order to develop the active and passive nature of youth public activity.

A better understanding of whether or not managerial entrepreneurialism is inherently a force for the exclusion of collectively distinct, yet valid users, of public space will be brought forward as a result. How this fits into the entrepreneurial regeneration of the city, the maintenance of social order in public space and the rights of youth tribes to access and use public space for recreational purposes form the final empirical discussion of interplay (chapter 9).

Chapter 9.
INTERPLAY & INTERMEDIARIES: OLD ELDON SQUARE AS A REPRESENTATIONAL SPACE

The discussion of management conceptual space in chapter 7 has focussed on two key issues. Firstly, isolating the key subgroups linked to the management of OES and secondly, developing the entrepreneurial design-led strategy for the regeneration of OES. It is significant that City Centre Management (CCM) essentially acts as an adjunct to the city council, treated as a part of the civic government mechanism, despite being explicitly commercial in terms of accountability.

The discussion of use in chapter 8 has hinged on identity and perception. Firstly, developing the profile of youth cultural groups in the area of OES, extended beyond the cultural background of these groups to their activity on OES and relationships with each other, as much as possible, from the insiders perspective. Secondly, the external perception of these groups is developed demonstrating the disparity between the reality of a cultural identity and the 'outsiders' perception of who these people are and what they are doing in the city centre, specifically around OES.

There are three key elements missing from this empirical discussion to make it a rounded discourse. The first is the role and location of key intermediaries in the negotiation of specific actions by managers. It has been demonstrated that a fragmented civic government is vulnerable to the influence of commercial partners through the restructuring implicit in urban renaissance. An example of this is the role played by CCM and associated stakeholder partners in developing the strategies, and then later the tactics, of running the day-to-day and long term future of the city centre. Isolating these intermediaries and their position on governance in the same format as the broader discussion of key managerial actors (7.1) gives more depth to the top-down managerial narrative showing both positive and negative aspects of managerial restructuring. This will be undertaken in the first part of this chapter (9.1).

Secondly, the impact of practical actions taken by management in either attempting to regenerate the architecture of OES or to manage the tensions that have arisen there,

between specific user groups, are discussed (9.2). This is primarily direct alterations made to the physical fabric of the area, and assessing the reasons for these actions.

This leads into the third, and final, empirical discussion (9.3). Here the reactions to alternative provisions and responses to these actions by the users themselves are brought forth; indeed it is the combination of action and response that inform the wider understanding of how the space is experienced and 'lived'. Furthermore, the practical import to the wider framework of local youth policy must be connected to tactics of management to develop potential conflicts between the representations of space (concept) and representational spaces (lived spaces) through spatial practice. At this locus of conceptual space, lived experiences and reflexive perception is the genesis of spatial production.

9.1 Changing Old Eldon Square: Interplay from the Top-Down

There have been several substantial changes to the square over the last 5 years, each affecting the perception of OES and the way it is both managed and used in different ways. Some issues and examples of this from both the top-down management of space (chapter 7) and from the bottom-up use of space (chapter 8) are developed in the following discussion.

In this section the way in which the management groups attempt to bridge the gaps with key actors, agencies and initiatives will be addressed; also linking to other key groups whose opinions and actions inform the interplay of actors and interests, as well as 'fleshing-out' the production and management of Old Eldon Square.

It has been suggested in the preceding chapters that different subgroups within the city council often act independently of each other with reference to their own interpretation of generalised strategic concepts for both youth and public space. It has also been argued that the lack of communication between these subgroups marginalises youth from the decision-making process, the strategic orientation of the city centre and the lived spaces which they have previously been dominant within. In the following discussion some suggestions of how, and by whom, these problems and short-comings have been created or addressed are brought forward.

Changing Old Eldon Square: Other Actors, Agencies & Panels

There are actors and agencies who fall between managerial and commercial subgroups discussed in chapter 7; or at least cannot be neatly encapsulated within the tactical remits of their subgroups. These are discussed here in more detail as agents, or examples, of the interplay between subgroups. Often they take the form of an individual acting outside of the tactical remit given them in the job description in the interests of furthering and improving the city councils services[1]. How these feed into the concept and experience of public space within the spatial practice of interplay on OES will help in developing a complex, but grounded, picture of these processes.

City Centre Services Manager

The City Centre Services Manager is not an official title; the job description of this role is 'Service Development Manager for Street Services'. However it is generally referred to by people in interviews as such. This intermediary has become invaluable to pinning down the interplay of subgroups within the city council structure and as such it occupies a key position in addressing many of the concerns in this assessment of conceptual representations of space within the civic management structure.

This post has evolved within Neighbourhood Services Directorate[2] and seems to sit across many aspects of spatial management, linking into many permutations of strategic policy generation and practical managerial tactics for the environmental management of open and public space:

Institution / Subgroup	**Main Strategic Policy Documents** (Affecting OES)	**Main Managerial tactics** (Affecting OES)
City Centre Services Manager CCSM	Any policy document affecting the running of Neighbourhood Services	Improving coordination across directorates in the management of public services & spaces: ▪ Be aware of the activities of diverse subgroups within the council ▪ Apply that knowledge to improving street services and spatial management ▪ Coordinating and improving the provisions of Neighbourhood Services

Table 15. Main Strategies and Tactics of City Centre Services Manager

'I think the original concept was to get away from separate services, cleansing, grounds, highways all the rest of it to have an overall management functioning with groups from each of those and have an integrated workforce that would keep the city centre in order, be responsive to stakeholders wishes and needs and be quite reactive and have some control, that never actually happened'[3]

The role of CCSM evolved separately to cover a wider range of integration issues linking services to spaces with a view on the practicalities of use and management. Responding to stimuli from within the organisation garnered from personal experiences, and criticisms of council regeneration policy in general, a picture of the role and the potential for this position to link into wider issues around the nature of public space began to emerge:

'*There was quite a lot of feeling that the planning and economy side of corporate affairs were driving the development of the city centre. Pure finance in a way, and there was quite a lot of feedback that we had from initial surveys that the environment was very, very important to people.* Public spaces in particular were important to them, so my role developed into overseeing the management and the maintenance of them... *I also got involved in citywide environmental policy and getting into best-value reviews looking and benchmarking with other authorities on a whole range of things from waste collection to street lighting and everything inbetween.*' (emphasis added)[4]

This placed the CCSM in a prime position to; observe strategies and tactics evolving from within several different groups, contribute directly to the evolution of strategic documentation such as the CCAP[5] and open gateways to many, but not all, of the panels that relate to the management of OES. It also has some more practical considerations such as the location, management and maintenance of street furniture and street cleansing operations.

This is a unique position which influences many areas and bridges many gaps in the tactical management of public space. It is underutilised in this respect within the council as these concerns remain secondary to the economic imperatives of regeneration and the practices of maintenance at the strategic level within

Neighbourhood Services. The CCSM is aware of many of the problems appearing in strategic policy and acts within the council to encourage a certain form of regeneration but is one voice among many. As such most of the influence of the CCSM is in networking on panels that interest the officer or are of a practical and 'behind the scenes' significance on terms of orienting policy at the level of practical and operational logistics of access and maintenance.

Young Peoples Participation Coordinator

Institution / Subgroup	Main Strategic Policy Documents (Affecting OES)	Main Managerial tactics (Affecting OES)
City-Wide Participation Officer PYS	Hear By Right	Developing youth related participation in local government across the city, improving the quality of youth participation & consultation: • Assessing the nature of youth participation (e.g. online alternatives to youth parliament) • Development of Voices publication on youth & local government in Newcastle area

Table 16. Main strategies and tactics of Young Peoples Participation Coordinator

NCC are aware of their successes and failures in the development of hegemonic dialogue, specifically relating to the creation of a meaningful dialogue and participatory framework for the inclusion of young people in decision-making in general and governance as a whole. This has been addressed critically in several reviews of the wider remit of Newcastle City Council, and in relation to the Young Peoples Parliament in particular[6]. In an attempt to address some of these issues the appointment of a Young Peoples Participation Coordinator in 2001 (YPPC) has attempted to develop more meaningful youth participation and combat this malaise in youth participation:

"…it was a new post set up 2 years ago now and it was really I suppose a response to a change in government agenda and was linked with fact that they'd had a fairly bad OFSTED report about how the youth service in particular was running and how in terms of young peoples participation it wasn't limited and the idea of the post was to look at how that was turned around and look at how we could involve young people far more in (a) how the service was delivered and (b) in the wider context across the directorate how young people could have a true voice in the council itself and in the services that young people access and how those services are delivered'[7]

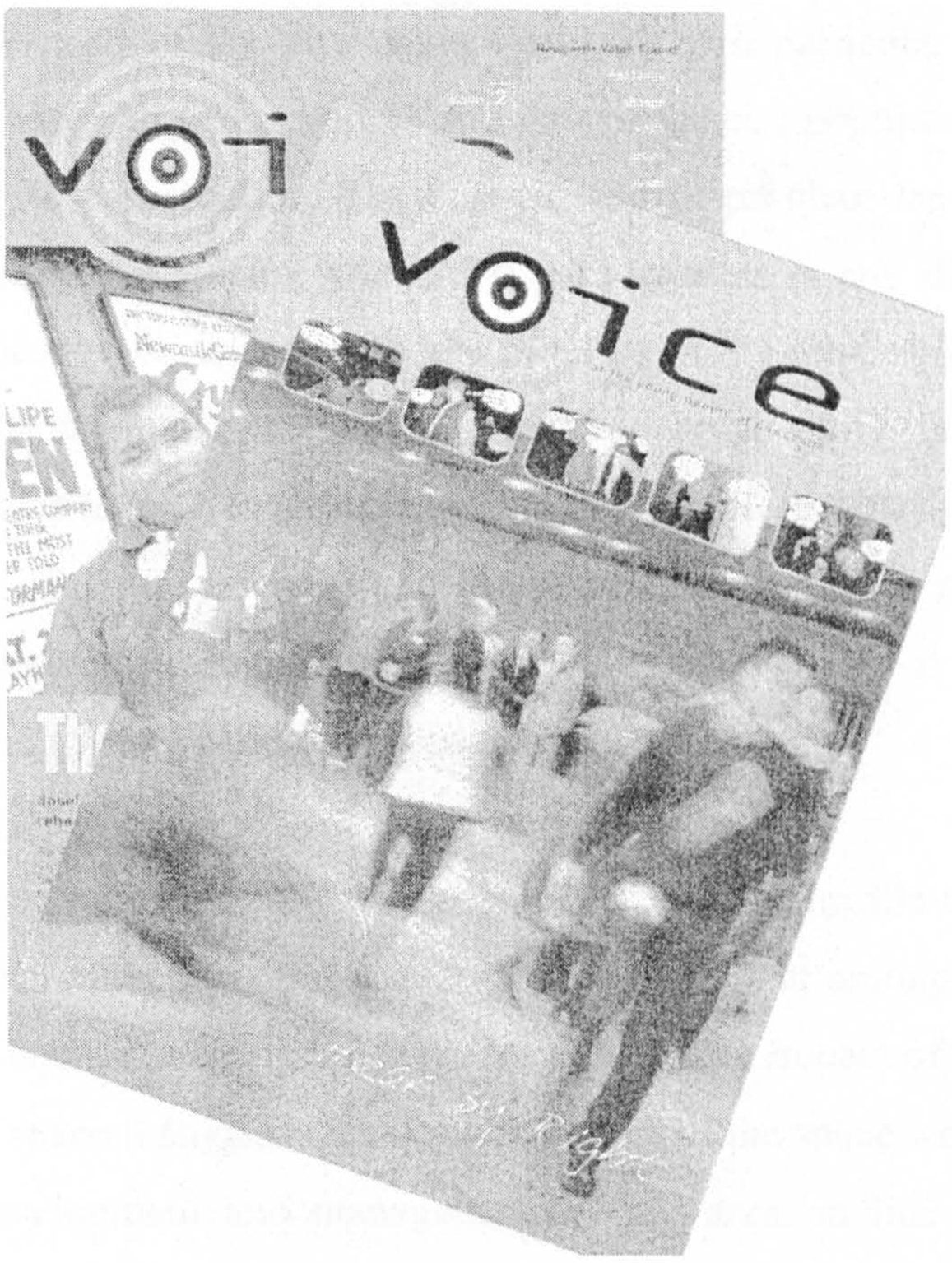


Figure 37. Voice Youth Services communicate / publication Issues 1 & 2 Spring & Summer 2004

This broad remit gave the participation officer the ability to cross-reference issues across services dealing with youth participation in its totality and address some of the pitfalls affecting meaningful participation. One element of this is the ongoing attempt of the YPPC to enforce the EU & National standards for youth participation, known as the 'Hear by Right'[8] (Wade et al. 2001) standards for consultation across the entirety of NCC, as opposed to PYS only, as is currently the case. The standards address the inclusion and participation of youth in decision-making and offer best-

practice guidelines applicable to NCC as a whole. This targets both the strategic and tactical levels in order to force the application of consultation en masse:

'*On a strategic level looking at how we can implement mechanisms where by directorates, and the council itself (elected members) have a true dialogue with young people. It's also about how we as a service can work better on the ground with young people. How we can involve them more in the provision that we have across the city. How can we make sure that it truly reflects what they need and want.*"[9]

This reflected the need of the city council and PYS in particular to improve the hegemonic discourse with young people as a part of the city populous, particularly in terms of *meaningful* participation. The biggest tactical problem facing those tasked with this then lies in convincing youth that participation in any dialogue with the council is both meaningful and worthwhile in terms of the realisable impact of their input in delivering an improved city for youth. In broad terms the importance of '*giving young people a voice in the council*' in terms of a direct participatory dialogue between the powerful (the council) and the powerless (youth) is supposed to then increase youth involvement in the running of the city as a whole but in fact replicates the system by which young peoples voices are designified.

Citywide initiatives such as the '*Voice*' attempt to raise the profile of youth services and issues in a pamphlet style publication that is circulated amongst youth centres, practitioners and councillors (Figure 37)[10]. In terms of the impact of this on OES as a representation of space it suggests that youth as users of the space would be consulted on the future development and management of the area, in line with the EU & National standards for youth participation, however this has not transpired. Further consultations have now resulted after several initiatives have mobilised the young people in and around OES, however these initiatives were largely developed in the third sector as opposed to within the city council. Youth services remain at the fringes of council operations and the impact of consultation with young people has not affected the form of the regeneration plans[11].

Voluntary & Community / Third Sector Agencies

One possible reason for the lack of an impact from the YPPC is the outsourcing of power to third sector agencies. Despite having the right to participate in upper-level management panels the YPPC allows representatives of its third sector partners to represent youth issues on the City Centre Panel (CCP) and other such steering groups where a council representatives voice would arguably hold more weight:

'Mine is a city wide remit but I can't always do everything ... I think if you're running a project in the city centre with young people as your main clients, young people that hang out in the city centre, then you should be able to influence these organisations... I could have quite easily sat on the City Centre Panel and passed information up but I just thought to get across the reality of what its like for some of the young people in the city centre it was quite important to have somebody that directly delivered that work directly and could anecdotally say straight away "I know for a fact blah-di-blah"...'[12]

The agencies referred to here are often those that are used for youth consultation events, such as Streetwise (a youth sexual health clinic based in the Bigg Market), the Brunswick Young Peoples Project (BYPP – responsible for key consultation documents, based in Brunswick chapel off Blackett Street), Swingbridge (a video archiving charity that work with young people to develop skills and record youth opinions on council policy among other initiatives) and the Heritage Lottery Fund (linked into archiving youth cultural history through Youth Roots projects – see 9.3). Such groups are often contacted as standard procedure in linking into youth communities for outreach consultation on a range of issues. However these are not fed back into strategic policy very well or even widely distributed within the council. The extent to which the operators of these agencies respond to the managerial agenda is variable. One typical example of how 3rd sector agencies see the councils agenda is summed up here by a somewhat frustrated representative of a 3rd sector agency in the city centre:

'...its just about moving young people outside the city centre which is just to get rid of the problem somewhere else, the young people are saying that they want to be in the

city centre its where they meet people and what they want is a safe meeting place, they divven' deliberately go anywhere with the intention of upsetting anybody but that's the place where they gather and that seems to upset people for some reason. Its mainly because their young I think.'[13]

The weight of importance councillors give to opinions from these groups is however debatable[14] (see 9.2). A member of Streetwise sits on the CCP, the BYPP have conducted research on young people's opinions in the city centre and Swingbridge have run a number of consultations over more than 20 years covering a wide range of youth issues. Most recently the Grainger town project was linked to youth concerns over the city centre redevelopment; this consultation has been referred to by more than one interviewee as 'top-notch'[15] but the impact of feedback, and application of these views has been lacking, making it appear as 'lip-service'[16].

Old Eldon Square Working Group

Parks and Countryside Services (PCS) have a particular set of links that bring them closer still to OES and the concept of OES as a memorial, and as a 'sacred space'. The Head of PCS was initially responsible for the setting up of the Old Eldon Square Working Group (also referred to as the Eldon Square Memorial Day Committee).

This is chaired on a quarterly basis by a representative of PCS under the remit to set up a forum for discussion with key subgroups interested in the management of the area, primarily in relation to the holocaust (27th Jan) & remembrance (11th Nov) memorial ceremonies; but it has, since its inauguration, developed other links through the attendees to the Northumbrian Police, the CCSM, CCM, and the local Ex-servicemens Association.

Though every interviewee referred to the OESWG and the Holocaust Memorial Day committee as though they were the same thing, few people used exactly the same terms to refer to this group or were confused as to its specific relevance. A review of the agendas placed before the committee and anecdotal discussion of key issues with panel members during qualitative interviews gave more depth to this initial impression of a general community interest group. Whilst the main purpose of the

meetings is to discuss the appropriate ongoing management of the memorial - for example hanging wreaths on the memorial and not damaging the stonework[17] - the group is also used by some members of the council to test ideas for events they wish to enact within specific spaces from a specific section of the community (i.e. elder post-military or veteran communities). In this sense, it is another aspect of the methods through which 'use-value' is prescribed from the perspective of the council. Thus the OESWG is hegemonically 'manipulated' and used as a panel for the 'testing of ideas' and 'coordination of events' relating to the memorial but commercial in their representational reality[18].

The Old Eldon Square Working Group (OESWG) has, as such, become the focal point for the managerial concept of OES as a war memorial and has been a 'barometer' of the responses the council can expect to receive from the wider public - but also implicitly privileging the elderly demographic of users, possibly due to the fact that this groups are more likely to vote in local elections. In many cases this appears to manifest through the considerable 'respect' based power exerted by the ex-servicemen, giving this demographic an effective *veto* on any commercial redevelopment or use of OES as an amenity spatial resource[19] as pushed by the city council. This gives the ex-servicemen a significant lever in their hegemonic negotiation with Local Authorities, in terms of defining appropriateness within OES[20]. Before any decisions are made about activities, such as the New Year celebrations, the OESWG is consulted and often has the right of veto on events if they are deemed as an inappropriate use of the space.

This was the case in 2001 with the veto of an ice rink being placed on OES in the winter, this was eventually located at Times Square in the Centre for life at the southern end of the city centre. However, in 2004 the New Year celebrations were linked to OES, where a fire show was planned to take place on the grassy area OES the head of the Enterprise, Environment and Culture Directorate visited the OESWG and pitched the proposals for the show to the working group seeking approval from the Ex-Servicemens Association for the proposed show, which in this case was allowed to go ahead. This may be significant in relation to the changing opinions of the Ex-Servicemens Association on the appropriate uses of the square since the

development of the regeneration proposals for OES, which have also passed through this steering group.

Discussion conducted by this panel have also touched upon a range of conceptual and practical considerations affecting this space, such as; the urban myth / legend of the trees on OES being equal in number to the regiments from the northeast involved in the 1st world war (brought up in discussions when these trees were replaced), the funding given for the renovation of the benches around OES; e.g. the attachment of memorial plaques (linked to graffiti concerns), the addition of suspension wires to the memorial itself for the hanging of wreathes in remembrance season (as noted above). The power of the elderly community and the Ex-servicemens association was also applied to raising awareness of skating 'on the war memorial' as inappropriate and led to direct action in architectural reform (9.3).

The interplay of this issue from within this group with the alternative approaches to the concept and management of the space is a pivotal aspect of the conceptual interplay on OES as both the council and the police made a mistaken assumption that the ex-servicemen were against youth using the area. During interviews the ex-servicemen raised three interesting points. Firstly the assertion that '*young people horrify the shopkeepers, but are perfectly nice people*' gave a generally parental intonation to the harmlessness of youth. The suggestion was made that there was no problem with 'respectful leisure' as an appropriate use of OES; but this was tempered with other concerns. It became clear that older users of the space found that all public space could have; '*a threatening atmosphere when then is any large group that doesn't confirm to the norm. However if a group of 50 odd military types in full uniform were to march down there then people would find it equally as threatening.*'[21]

This sense of humour about the use of space was not echoed by other groups approach to the anti-social behaviour they saw in youth. Again an open mind was displayed but with a fervent emphasis on the rights of the elderly to treat OES as 'sacred'. Youth issues were made to appear less important than the other freedoms that were to be observed in public space:

'*Young people don't realise the threat given to others simply by them being there doing nothing in very large groups and that threatens other peoples freedom*'[22]

Crime Prevention Panel: Perceived Crime & The Problem of Old Eldon Square

Another key group in the interplay of interests in management is the panel set up by Northumbria police to discuss issues surrounding the complaints of local traders regarding youth uses of OES. This panel was originally set up in 2002 to discuss the increasing number of complaints from the local traders in the Georgian terrace on the east of Old Eldon Square. The role of the police remain conciliatory towards these business interests; sympathetic to their problems but unwilling to act in any way which privileges one certain use-value over another until a specific law has been broken by the protagonists involved. As one beat commander suggested:

'*What I do is I remain neutral in terms I have no business interests there. There are no side issues for me. So really it's just responding to the problems that people have. Part of the problem is the resident shop keepers, part of the problem is the members of the public that come there to shop and part of the problem is the youths that congregate there... So what I have to do is try to find a solution that keeps all parties that are in Eldon Square happy, I mean the veterans society is another player in this overall thing. So what I have to do is take a look at what all the problems are, put them in the melting pot and try and come out with some solutions to resolve it.*'[23]

Members of the city council have been subject to invitation to the Crime Prevention Panel meetings consistently, but attendance from cabinet members is sporadic at best and usually has lacked a representative Moorside ward councillor. The geographical boundaries through which managerial agents define the city centre are subtly different in terms of the managerial remit of each group - most noticeable in terms of the differences between the subgroups of the council as well as the police. Given that the connections between specific agents are generally based around steering panels where an agent of each subgroup will be present, these individual relationships are often the means by which communication is maintained and developed, and are often unstructured or informal links between the specific representatives of each institution.

For example the crime prevention panel has usually invited a West-end (or west central) city ward councillor rather than a Moorside ward councillor, due to the specific focus of the Moorside councillors on conservation and heritage or transport issues. Whilst the West-end councillor has a specific interest in social order this makes them better equipped thematically to participate in the discussions; however, the geographical area represented is in fact representative of a different demographic of citizenry from the city centre, as the geographical area (and thus broader demographic of citizens) affected by discussions conducted in this meeting. As the West-end Councillors are based geographically outside of the city centre they have little interest in the *commercial* concerns of the local traders in another ward (i.e. the city centre), but more *general* concerns on the *theme* of social order in *residential* communities. Attendance by the city councillor is lower than it might have been if the connection were made geographically rather than thematically, giving the local traders direct access to their local civic representative. However this is not the case and the result is that the local traders often feel little progress is made in these meetings as their interests are not adequately represented by the council[24].

This has resulted in these meetings often degenerating into demands for action with reference to specific incidents of minor disorder arising from the antagonistic relationships of a small element of the shopkeepers to the youths[25]. This is of course, in itself, represented differently across a range of opinions and not reflected in the comments of *all* the local traders in this area:

'*We have had a number of different meetings with a number of different parties to see if we can develop some kind of problem solving focus to resolve the issue. Frankly I'm not sure the issue is actually resolvable, because certain parties don't want the kids there at all and other parties think 'live and let live' and that the kids are an integral part of the city centre life and should be catered for as well as everyone else is catered for and there are varying themes on that.*' [26]

This comment by a senior police official reflects the difficulty in providing for every group in an area as condensed and lacking in open green public spaces as Newcastle city centre, as well as the diversity of opinions from the different traders themselves. The police have engaged with a number of policing tactics to combat the anti-social

elements of behaviour but the line between nuisance and anti-social behaviour, however clear in the mind of the traders, is not reflected in police policy towards youths gathering on OES. Police concerns are torn between the need to cater to the dominant perception of appropriateness and the need to protect Goths and Skaters from Charvers, thus minimising the potential for complaint as a result of genuine anti-social behaviour or disorder:

'I think [Old] Eldon square is little bit different in that a lot of the businesses are scared of them a little but a lot of the youths, the majority of the youths are good people. They're nice people their respectful; they do what you ask them to do, their polite. Their problem lies in that the behaviour that they do exhibit becomes childlike on occasions, it becomes a nuisance, it becomes noisy, they litter, occasionally they graffiti. It becomes intimidating for people who aren't part of that culture and certainly some of the older people, lets say 30 and above, who maybe can't relate to their culture. Certainly those 55 and above have expressed that they get intimidated by their large numbers, maybe by their clothes, maybe by their culture, maybe by their behaviour but whatever it is they feel intimidated by youth in that area.' [27]

The intimidation factor, real or imagined, sits alongside the management emphasis on the perception of a crime free area uncomfortably. In this situation the reality of criminality has been shown to conflict with the reality of crime committed by these polite, well educated but boisterous young people. However due to the perception of young people as 'dangerous' they are increasingly treated as a problem to be solved leading to behavioural legislation and design-led strategies of displacement, all due to the perceived danger associated with youth as a broad demographic. This was again acknowledged as a tension by a police representative:

'So you haven't got the youth with the crime culture you've got the old people who are seeing large gatherings of children of a stereotype really, and they don't know the people that are involved in it, they don't know that they wouldn't really get hurt. A little bit of cheek or a little bit of litter dropped but they're not the violent kind of people. I actually think they're not particularly streetwise they become easier pickings themselves for people who are streetwise, they're easy to pinch mobile phones from, and they're easy to take money off because they're just not streetwise.' [28]

Many of the traders on OES see this disorder as anti-social behaviour, particularly as several of the services and products cater to older elements of the community. These people may not return to an area they feel uncomfortable or intimidated in, thus the loss of footfall affects the earnings of some stores. The line between what is perceived as disorderly and what can be acted upon by security agents, such as police officers, is here stretched paper thin and can be argued from a number of perspectives. Some see the youth as a nuisance, but a nuisance with every right to be in the area; others see them as anti-social and in need of legal reprisal; furthermore, others see it as a problem indigenous to the area itself. So much so that one store informed me of plans to move premises - linked to the problems of youth but also to their displeasure at the poor consultation and lack of a community input into the proposed architectural redevelopments. In fact, none of the stores interviewed had received more than a letter informing them of works in the area before the initial redevelopments began in 2004, affecting the street outside their shops. With regards to the movement of the store from its location (on the second floor of the terrace), no one reason was prioritised highest but both clearly had affected the success of the small business across a long period of time.

A general disenchantment, of the local traders attending crime prevention panel meetings, with the ability of the police to legally act upon the youth in this area is heightened by the lacklustre attendance to meetings of this nature by representatives of the city council (as noted earlier). Despite several officers and store owners turning up at regularly, only a small core of dedicated store owners, police officers and officers regularly attend these meetings. The main outcome has as such been a raised awareness amongst the police of specific elements of the interplay between shops and youth but this institution lacks power to create a direct plan of action. They also exhibited frustration and referred to the self-interest that informs the judgmental attitudes of this hardcore of opposition to the youths:

'*There's a few meetings, everybody draws their own experiences in and they look at there own patch. If it doesn't affect them they're not interested.*'[29]

In this area complaints have focussed on the danger caused to customers by skaters, intimidation and drug use, underage drinking, drug dealing and anti-social behaviour

such as fighting as well as ongoing graffiti on the chairs – recently fitted with memorial plates linking into the history of the Newcastle regiments. The police reports over the spring and summer period of 2002 and 2003 showed that in this time the majority of police complaints received in this area were related to offences of the public order act (see appendix 1). Most of these were resolved without the need for intervention through either a CCTV sweep of the area or an officer attending the scene to find that nothing was happening serious enough to require intervention.

On a number of occasions arrests have been made in the area. In most of these incidents the subcultural identity of the individual is not noted. Vague references are made to hair-length and colour but this is not always as strong an indicator as one might think (see pictures 8.1). On most occasions where the group was identified the note was made of a 'known Charver', and was related to petty theft or violence (this was not always directed towards Goths). Goths were noted to make more reports of stolen items but these were also low in frequency[30].

Rounding up Initial Changes to Managing OES: Bridging the Interplay

The above actors and panels have been integrated into the debate in this way because they fit into some key gaps between the diverse dimensions of spatial production. The CCSM and YPPC are NCC representatives that cover a broad range of these interests and are aware of a wider cross section of bottom-up issues than any other officer in the council structure. It is significant that the CCSM is seen by some as the civic counter-part of the CCM due to his broad remit of actions in the city centre. This gives the CCSM increased power in the negotiation of actions. In this way due to the broad range of issues brought under the remit of this actor the CCSM is able to offer advice on the streaming of activities towards a comprehensive and holistic concept:

'*... although I didn't have direct control of the staff, I had influence on their managers to say what was needed, when it was needed and how things could be improved.*'[31]

This in itself is driven more by the use-values and practices of maintenance due to the emphasis on street service management, rather than by the economic and entrepreneurial planning of space itself. It seems that in this respect freedom to set the

boundaries of the posts responsibilities, within the specific remit of the subgroup, led to a more open understanding of the requirements of the post.

The YPPC had much less power in relation to directly affecting strategies and policy changes due to the isolation of PYS as a subgroup of the council and the disenfranchisement of the officers, due to what they perceived as an institutional lack of respect for the work which they conduct. Several representatives of the council seemed to lack a sufficient knowledge of PYS, several of whom were not even aware of the status of youth service referring to aspects of services from its days as an independent directorate. This lack of coordination in the local government makes it extremely difficult for the YPPC to affect any deep institutional changes in policy, as has been seen in the attempts to develop the 'Hear by Right' standards mentioned previously:

'You can't just say "right we're going to build over Eldon Square" you have to go through a whole, you know "have you spoken to the people that use it?" "No" "Well then you have to so how are you going to go about that?" So they wouldn't be able to do anything without making sure that those core groups that use whatever area are intrinsically happy with what your going to be doing because if they're not you can't do it... It's no good just the Play & Youth service adopting it, which we do ...we need to get it across the whole council, because otherwise if you've got people in the council not using the same principles as yourself then it all falls down ...we don't deliver all the services to young people, young people access all sorts of services so they should all have the same standards.'[32]

This standardisation of terminologies, consultation practices and perceptions of the roles and rights of young people is vital to the future of young people in the city centre. This is particularly important if the entrepreneurially driven and design-led plans (7.2) are not to create a displacement or dispersal of young people from the public spaces of the city as a whole, and from OES in particular. This will be developed in the second part of this chapter and in the analysis of the overall interplay that follows.

The initial actions that prepare OES for the more sweeping changes proposed by the 3 scheme bus concourse plan have had a variety of affects. Whilst the pedestrianisation has improved the area for youth 'hanging out' there it has also increased tensions between them and local business, bringing the issues of anti-social behaviour and nuisance to the fore of local policing tactics. The sponsorship of bins has been one example of an attempt to reduce the problems of littering caused by the gathering of young people whilst maximising the profitability of the venture through sponsorship. A range of issues are brought together through these tactics and spatial practices as realisable actions affecting the lived experience of OES as a representational space. Developing these tensions is where we now turn in the final empirical discussion of interplay between youth groups, local business, the local police and NCC.

9.2 Changing Old Eldon Square: Key Actions

In order to do develop the discussion of interplay to a conclusion the key changes already affecting OES need to be discussed. There are several actors and steering groups or panels discussed above that affect, or have affected, these changes through their interaction with the key subgroups (discussed in chapter 7). Once these actors have been developed the actions affected on OES by key subgroups will fit into the streaming of concepts and lived experiences through this complex infrastructure of spatial governance and allow for the responses to change processes to be made explicit. This discussion forms the second part of this chapter where attempts to provide alternatives for youth to gathering *en masse* at OES and the responses of young people to them will be unpacked.

Pedestrianisation & Blackett Street Bus Stops

The geography of OES has been slowly changing throughout 2000-2004 in preparation for larger more sweeping changes to the area implementation of which was begun in the summer of 2005. A small pedestrianisation scheme - the slip / service road on the East of the Square (figure 38.A-C) - has been fully completed as a part of this preparation, coming about through a partnership of interest groups, but predominantly through the efforts of PTD and City Design[33]. The high quality stone paving has been brought into the area at considerable cost and has received a range of responses from both the public and local traders. Several of the smaller local traders, despite being the original source of the request to remove the parking metres lining the slip road and improve the area, have realised this pedestrianisation has led to the artificial barrier - as provided by the slip road and the cars parked at the metres – being removed. This has affected the uneasy balance of how people use the area.

Significantly the young people are not the only group under criticism, the councils improvements to the flow of traffic through the area in order to making Blackett street safe and to test the potential alteration to the flow of transit around this area (possibly in preparation for an extended pedestrian scheme) has seen the road limited to taxis and buses only[34], this had a distinct affect on the square -

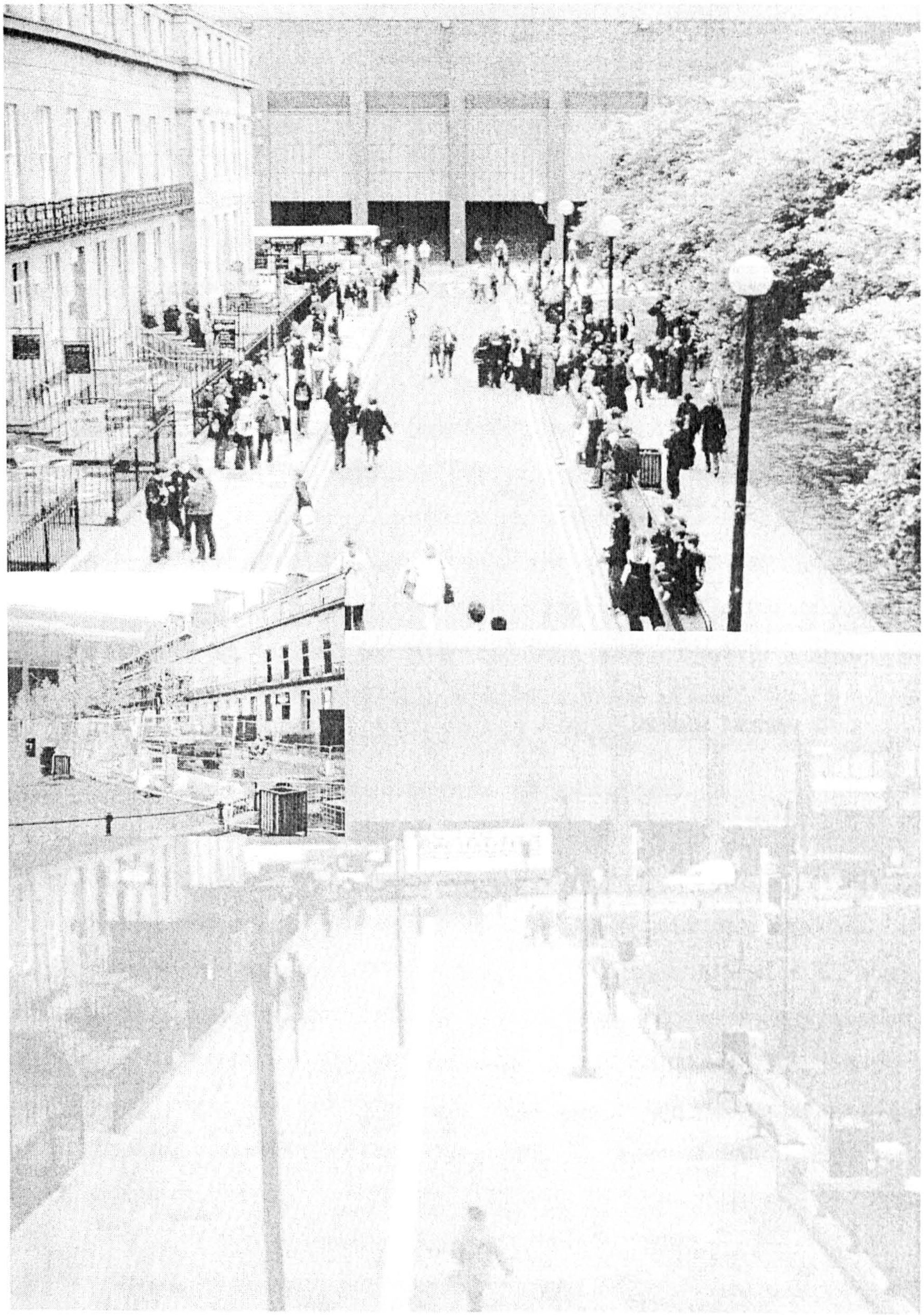


Figure 38.A-C

A - Top - The original slip road in 2001 on a busy Saturday
B – Inset - The redevelopment works in 2002
C - Bottom - The completed pedestrian walkway in the autumn of 2002

as one local store owner suggested:

'*You know on the Saturdays the space is not what it once was. Once the car parking was gone. It was great for business because people used to come in for 5 minutes. I mean it was expensive to park there, it was a pound for an hour, which now isn't that expensive, but people used to just run in and out. It was a quick turn around and they were in the centre of the city, close to Bainbridge's, Fenwick and these shops down here.*'[35]

The removal of public parking had a clear affected not only on these customers whose commercial needs suited a short stay parking, thus short visits to the specialist retailers – such as sport equipment repair, or clothing alterations - able to '*run in and out*'[36] at need. Furthermore the movements of young people were restricted by the row of parking metres and parked cars, and the danger of traffic on the slip road. By removing the barrier between the shops and the square - however temporary or artificial such a barrier may be (e.g. a short stay parked car) - young people increasingly drift across the pedestrianised area, spreading out into the previously narrow but clearly defined thoroughfare down the West of OES.

The fall-out of this subtle change to the physical space has led to tensions developing between store owners and young people, where previously an uneasy awareness was largely free of any antagonism. Young people now are seen in front of the shops, sitting on the steps and spilling across the pedestrianised walkway, arguably blocking access of genuine customers and creating a dominant possession of the location which was previously separated by this barrier. Whilst traders raise the complaints in the Crime Prevention Panel meetings, young people see this as a natural response to pressures they experience:

'*We wouldn't sit on the steps if they hadn't taken all the benches out, when they did that we sat down on the steps and got told to move.*'[37]

Clear tensions seem to arise here between the explicit rights of young people – as a key user group - to be in the space and use it as they see fit, and the intention of the council - as key managerial actors - to improve OES, thus making a more open

friendly space for all users. The end result has been a rise in tensions between the most vocal and visible groups on OES - in the form of the traders, who 'work' in the area[38], and the young people, who 'play' here, and still the discussion of the redevelopment continued throughout this period with only the consultation seen in chapter 7 to reflect the opinions, needs and wants of the entire users of the area.

As noted above the pedestrianisation of Blackett Street was discussed at various stages of the planning process as a possible solution to the pressures on OES and the Eldon Square mall. This links into wider problems for the city centres marketability in terms of consumer 'footfalls' and the need to allow the commercial dominance of the northern city centre to trickle down into the south end of the city, through Grainger town towards the Stephenson regeneration area in the CCAP (see chapter 6) [39]. Both OES and the Bus Concourse were linked in interviews with managers to the potential for increased pedestrianisation of the city centre, long term; especially by PTD and by the Moorside Ward councillors[40]. However it was also widely acknowledged that there would be increased pressures from motorised traffic in the city centre, should such works be pursued. The full pedestrianisation of Blackett Street seems less likely until the impact of the new bus concourse on city centre transit flows can be determined in more detail[41]. Until then the pedestrianisation plans for Blackett Street first faltered, and then were abandoned, citing the importance of this link in the road network of the city centre. This has been described as '*the main artery of transit*' for the flow of buses from the East to West suburban areas of the city.

Turf & Trees

In 2000 OES was the arguably the only green space with any signifiant foilage in the city centre. When in 2001 the trees skirting the square were replaced a brief public uproar was stimulated and emphasised by the local press (Figure 39). This change was at the time attributed to many different reasons, ranging from the need to have a clear line of sight for the CCTV cameras, to the aging nature of the trees causing danger to users of the square (an case they fell unexpectedly), to damage caused by dense foilage which blocked sunlight from reaching the grass itself, and preventing regrowth of the turf as a result, at a large expense to the city council (see figure 39).

Council chiefs defend action saying branches in old city square block out the sunlight

Fury as trees get the chop

ANCIENT trees in one of Tyneside's most elegant squares are being hacked down as part of a city centre revamp.

The trees have graced Old Eldon Square in the heart of Newcastle since the First World War.

The council says the whitebeam trees are reaching the end of their lives and are being replaced by saplings.

Saplings

One problem is they shut out the sunlight which stops the grass growing in the square containing the city's main war memorial.

But businesswoman Helena Featherstone has criticised the council for chopping down the trees.

Ms Featherstone, who runs a wedding dress shop in Old Eldon Square, said that when the saplings were being planted she rang the Civic Centre to ask why.

By PETER YOUNG
Political Editor

"I was told the sap was destroying the grass but they are lovely trees which add a lot to the square," she said.

"I daresay the new trees will look all right in 20 years' time but I think it's disgraceful to fell mature trees when there's nothing wrong with them If there's a problem with the grass they should re-turf the area every few years."

The protest has rekindled the row over gangs of youngsters known as Goths who gather at Old Eldon Square.

Ms Featherstone is one of several traders who protested at the behaviour of the Goths and she believes they are partly responsible for wearing out the grass.

A Civic Centre spokesman said 30 old whitebeam trees planted around 1915 are being replaced with 40 new Turkish hazel trees.

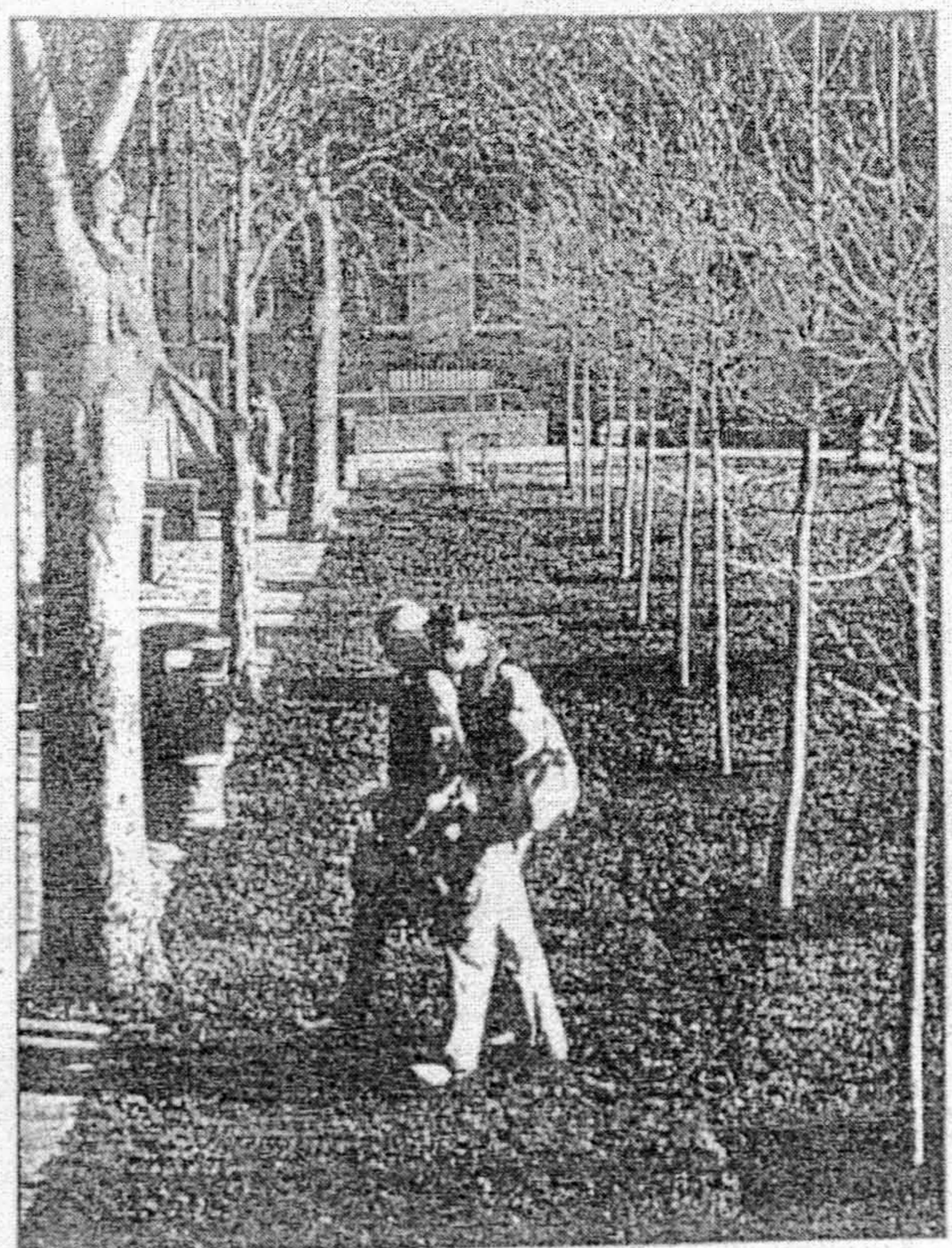
He denied there is a problem with sap but said the large whitebeams prevent sunlight reaching the grass. There is also a problem with bird droppings and with people gathering under the trees. The council anticipates fewer problems with the Turkish hazels whose branches will allow more sunlight to get through.

In recent years improvements have been carried out including railings around the memorial and interpretation boards explaining the history of the area while skateboarders have been banned.

Lighting

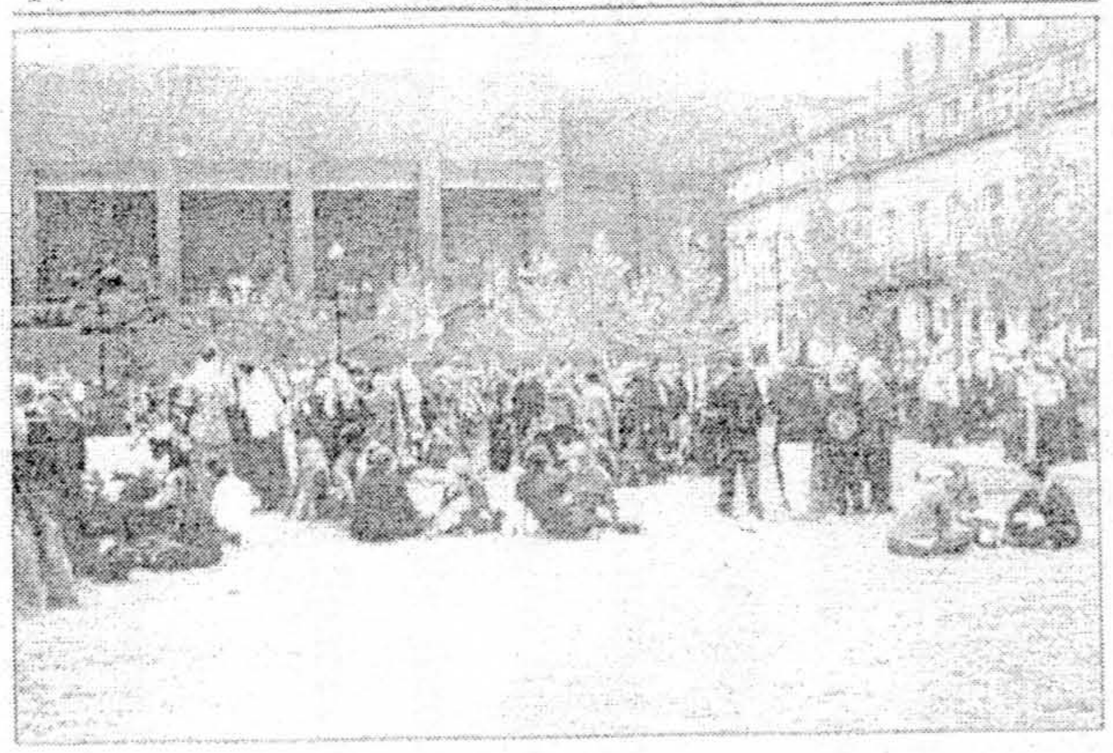
Future developments will involve changes to the pedestrian lay-out, the introduction of new seating and litter bins, and new lighting for the square," says the council.

Tom Robertson, chairman of the Joint Ex-Service Association Tyneside, who is on the working group which planned the revamp of Old Eldon Square, said: "The grass will grow and there will be a vast improvement," said Mr Robertson.



COMING TO AN END – the trees in Old Eldon Square, Newcastle, which, the city council says, have come to the end of their lives

Figure 39 - Evening Chronicle article on the changes to the foliage on OES



Goths on the Green

newcastle stuff INVESTIGATES

CITY COUNCIL pest control chiefs have taken drastic action, in an effort to rid Newcastle of a serious infestation.

Eldon Green has been plagued by Goths for several years, but recently the problem has got out of hand, as the dank weather has caused them to multiply.

At the crack of dawn last month, a team of experts moved in and dug up their habitat, replacing it with special non-stick turf which was sprayed with the most toxic substance known to Goths: soapy water.

"They'll kettle them," a CityWorks employee laughed, as his hose spread its deadly dose across the grass.

The Goths were tolerated by the authorities until the trees around the Green began to die.

Experts argue over the causes of this, some say it was acute patchouli poisoning, others reckon the trees suffered from depression, brought on by their surroundings.

A former Goth who is now normal told Newcastle Stuff, "Yeah, I was a no good dead-beat, chewing the heads off pigeons and shooting dreccare.

"But once they hit fifteen, most kids realise they're neither scary nor individual, and they come to their senses. Then they buy a skateboard."

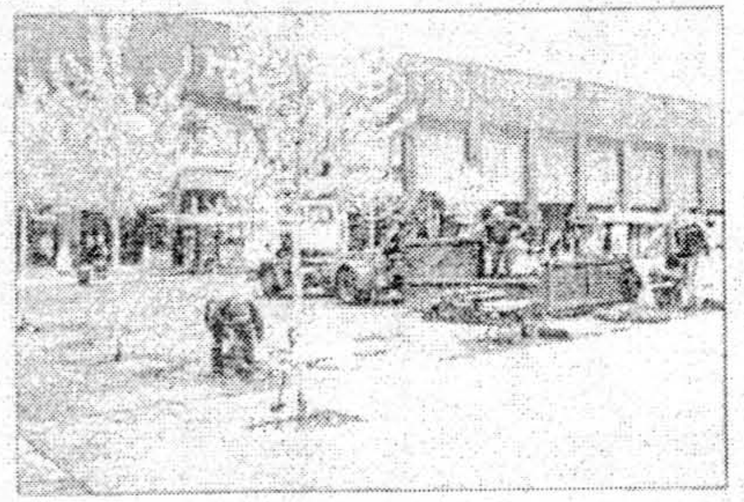
According to Bob Shite, Professor of Weird & Anti-Social Behaviour, from University College, Benwell, other species have merged with the Goths.

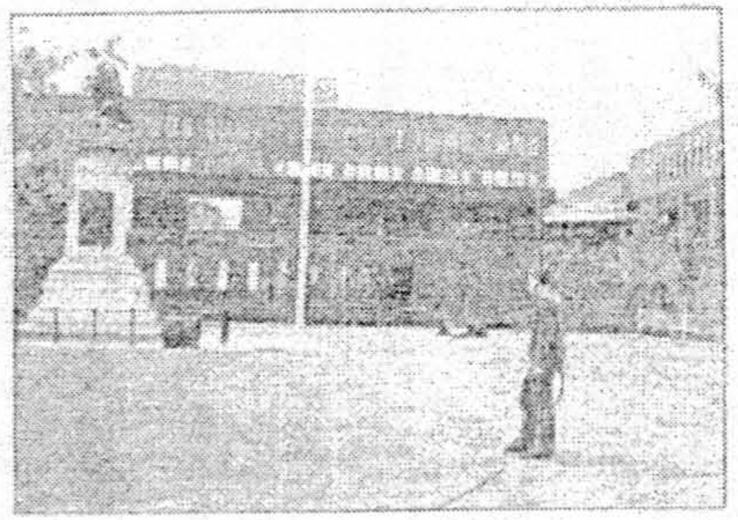
"Now you've got skatties hanging around the Green. Poison won't stop them; the council needs snipers.

"And you've got chavvers mingling with the Goths, on the look-out for tack. Some have even adopted the clothing; I've seen loads of lads with bloody tops and Kappa bottoms – the Goths call them 'Chotha'."

Will the council's tactics rid Eldon Green of its Goths? Newcastle Stuff seriously doubts it.

www.newcastlestuff.com





NEWCASTLE STUFF'S photographer witnessed the council's dawn raid on the Green, while returning from a lock-in from a nearby bar. They dug up the old grass (top) and replaced it with the special non-stick stuff. Then an evil operative sprayed it with soapy water (middle). And below, you can see several victims in serious distress. Or seriously pissed – this was later in the day.

www.newcastlestuff.com

Figure 40 - Local satirical magazine 'Newcastle stuff' suggesting that foam was being sprayed on the grass to discourage Goths from using it to hang out.

The replacement of the trees was funded and actioned soley by the PCS service, and was attributed by them to the age of the trees as reaching the end of their natural life. They were replaced by a different breed with much sparser foilage, which incidentaly does open up the square to a clear view from the CCTV cameras, but also imroves the circulation of air and light through the square greatly improving the general atmosphere created itself by the monolithic, fortified reality of the shopping mall.

In 2002 the whole green was returfed in an attempt to maximise the benefits gained from the replacement of the trees on the periphery of the square. Once again similar discussions began to circulate in the press; speculation as per the reasons for these environmental rennovations at this time were wide ranging in the local press (for example see figure 40). The task fell to PCS as the official subgroup tasked with maintainance and development of grassy areas to claim responsibility for these changes, which they did on largely ecological grounds (such as tree and grass health), these apsects of public open green spaces do infact fall legitamtely within the PCS tactical remit, but as the article 'Goths on the Green' in local satire magazine '*Newcastle Stuff*' (Hall 2002) argued, it was seen by many as another attempt to move young people on by causing a managerial inconveinience to the young users of OES.

The concept of public space demonstrated as dominant within the PCS service is again variable depending on who within the sub-group you talk to, and the nature of the space (each park has its own unique identity) thus it becomes implicitly heterotopic in the practice of management. However there is an overarching isotopic code implicit in the approach to the conceptual definition of public space from this sub-group, linked conceptually through their binding of strategy and operation in delivering the Parks & Green Spaces Strategy.

Protecting Architecture: Memorial Railings

A key effect of the Ex-servicemens association has been in the erection of barriers around the memorial in the centre of OES. The barriers were erected in the late 1990's as skating began to resurge amongst youth in significant numbers. A local trader marked this as the start of tensions between youth and other local agencies:

'How it originally started I think, how it kicked off was when they fenced of the war memorial maybes 4 years ago, just as we were coming, because they were always up and down on their patch jumping up onto the memorial, which is totally out of order, I agree. All they did was fence it off and put a sign up saying "no skateboarding". The kids just moved onto the throughway past, which was a road at the time, off the pavement and back on again'

These reflect some of the tensions and concerns affecting the pedestrianisation of the road area, which have since proved to cause tensions between the local traders and the young people at OES. It was felt that the use of the war memorial on OES as a skating area, to which it was well suited given the smooth central paving area, was disrespectful and inappropriate use of the space. Black railings encircle the memorial

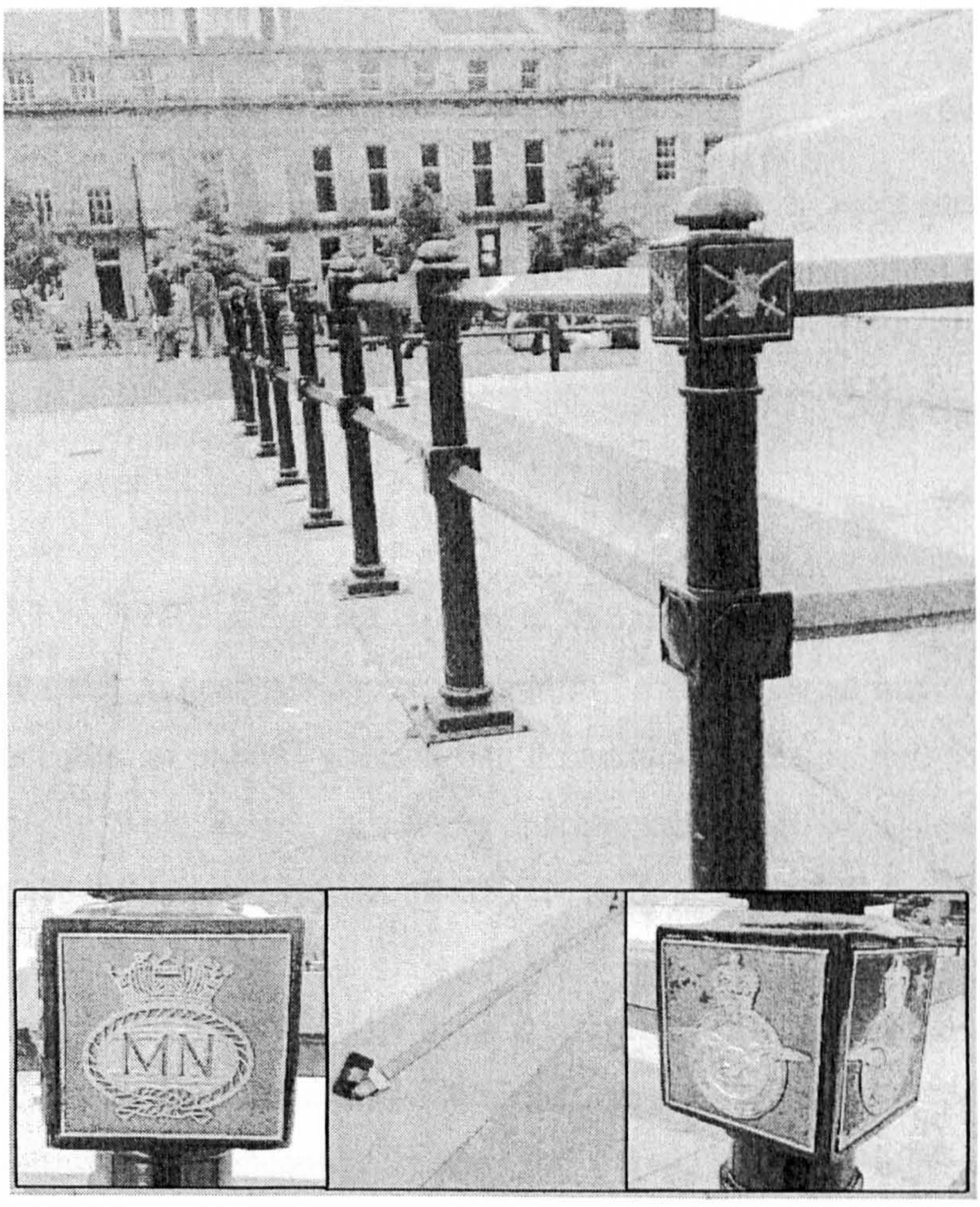


Figure 41 Memorial Railings at Old Eldon Square
INSET (Left to Right) Detail of regiment badge,
Brass anti-grind rail at memorial base, Corner post regiment detail

each embossed with logos depicting regiments that fought in the war from the respective armed forces (figure 41).

It difficult to chart the extent to which the anti-skating architecture has created a no-go zone for skaters, or if these actions have been explicitly targeted at skating and skaters of are part of a wider displacement strategy targeting groups and activities that do not fit with the renaissance driven concept of public space in the city centre. It is however a clear example of how the needs and wants of key subgroups are addressed and which are more privileged in negotiations over appropriateness in public space, further it gives a clear indication of how skating is seen in public space by managerial groups; in short as a 'disrespectful nuisance' (see 9.3).

Rounding up Initial Changes to the Architecture of OES: Bridging the Interplay

Whilst the above architectural changes are noted as 'knee-jerk' responses to problems brought forth from panel meetings, like the crime prevention panel and the Old Eldon Square Working Group, or are presented here as the first preliminary redevelopments preceding the full implementation of the 3 scheme plan (see 7.2), their impact on youth is still not explicit.

The above architectural changes set up a more in-depth look at the potential for wider exclusionary tactics in design-led regeneration to be shown as an impact independent from the conceptual agenda of wider urban renaissance policies, and further to open the discussion to what extent this is an intentional aspect of a new 'revanchist' entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989; Smith 1996; Jessop 1997b; Hall & Hubbard 1998).

This affects not only OES but all of the public spaces in Newcastle upon Tyne city centre. In this way the network of interlinked spaces is renegotiated through the hegemonic interplay of conceptual spaces, lived spaces and the perception of users and uses applied to public space.

The initial changes discussed above form a more contextual tier to the benefits and short-comings of youth provision, and apply some of the tensions between these different approaches to public space, and specifically OES. The final tension in the interplay between these groups lies in answering:

- **Do the efforts of managerial and security institutions allow young people to exercise their democratic rights of access and assembly in light of the risk that the presence of these groups will act to deter, or antagonise, the presence of other users, particularly shoppers?**

9.3 Living Representational Spaces: Dispersal, Displacement & Youth

At the centre of this discussion remains the potential impact of changes to the practice of public space management. Having addressed the broader conceptual space of management (7.1), the specific strategic conceptual plans for the regeneration of OES (7.2), the lived realities of youth (8.1), the importance of perception as a contributing factor to the streaming of opinion into action – and the problem of youth (8.2), this discussion has moved towards interplay between these factors by addressing the intermediary managerial agents and, in particular, key individuals or forums within management subgroups who are able to address in practice some of the tensions raised throughout this research (9.1). This discussion has also sought to document some clear examples of key actions affecting OES and the views of key actors why these were taken and what impact they have had on how the space is both used and perceived (9.2).

It is the suggestion in this research that the normative moral landscape underpinning both policy and perceptions of appropriate behaviour in public is changing; as is the distinctly commercial conceptual space encouraged by urban renaissance policy. This concept is increasingly manifest through strategic design-led planning and the increased environmental regulation and behavioural legislation in the local tactics of subgroups through spatial production in practice. It is increasingly the case within *this* research project that the institutionalised mistrust of youth, and low expectations of their interest and ability to contribute meaningfully to the management of public space by those tasked with managerial roles, appears to have become 'part and parcel' of the wider approach to all young people underpinning local governance. This is particularly the case when those who are not specifically tasked with forging connections with minority user groups are tasked with consulting and ensuring that the right processes of community participation are conducted. As one Voluntary and Community Sector agency suggested this leads to a fragmented understanding of the means and methods of engaging young people, itself founded upon a misconception of who young people are in reaction to perceived public image problems – often this then results in a 'ham-handed lumping' of youth together with a wider range of

'undesirable' urban 'others'; those traditionally *more* marginal, easier to *portray* as anti-social and thus easier to regulate, legislate and even criminalise with the approval of the stakeholder partners and the demographics of consumers they wish to attract – hence the lines of acceptability are perpetually redrawn:

'*There's a whole load of things that have been happening and I've noticed to be happening. There's been a big clamp down on people who are begging, there's been a big clamp down on people that are sleeping rough, its like there's a drive I think to present the city centre as a squeaky clean sort of image consultant approach to what the city centre should be, i.e. there shouldn't be any people with problems visible and there shouldn't be any young people gathering.*'[42]

Given the relatively weak position of young people in terms of their input and ability to help shape regeneration strategies in the city centre, and with reference to youth facilities and services, the tensions between redevelopment and use bring out two interesting questions. The first is who is the city being redeveloped for? The second is what effect does entrepreneurial regeneration have on young people's use of the city centre and its public spaces? In answering this OES has been used as the centre of a network of public space, and as a key site for urban regeneration. The actions discussed above have had little significant impact upon youth presence in OES but have contributed to a changing use-value - for example less skating around the memorial itself and a higher level of awareness in the wider community of the tensions affecting the area, and the city centre. Wider concerns for the potential impact of redevelopment around OES have begun to elicit more direct responses from some of these subgroups. The range of these direct actions as they have developed is discussed below, linking to specifically exclusionary and the implicit and explicit attempts to displace and disperse young people from public space in the city centre. The links here are primarily to notions of what is acceptable public behaviour, but the methods of management are questioned and reflect upon this changing moral landscape and urban practice as a process of socio-spatial exclusion inherent in wider approaches to managing the city centre embodied by urban renaissance policy (Cochrane 2003; Raco 2003b).

Observing the Interplay: Securing the Public

This thesis has described broad managerial tendencies towards entrepreneurialism across Newcastle city centre and on OES in chapter 8. It has then highlighted some distinctive elements of the youth cultural tribes specific to the city centre, and OES, through a descriptive discussion of the various identity groups and patterns of styles of use they bring to public space in general, and specifically on OES. In this chapter some of the key groups bridging the gaps between managers and young people have already been discussed (9.1) and some of the broad actions affecting the city centre have been laid out (9.2). Developing the specific targeted actions discussed above and combining these with examples of how the complete range of actors, and their distinct remits, interact over time gives insight into the significance of these often subtle, but distinct and specific, changes. These have a bearing on all three youth cultural groups (Goths, Skaters & Charvers) but affect each of them in different ways. This does suggest that the nature of the activity of a group in public, both perceived and lived lifestyles, alongside the importance of collective distinction or 'style' and 'identity' as driven through territorial identification with specific locations, all have a bearing on the form of management practices as both explicit and implicit provisions and exclusions that young people are able to interact with and/or are targeted by in the city centre. In this context the two ideas of displacement and dispersal become central threads of the discussion (Rogers & Coaffee 2005).

Responses and exclusion: High Visibility Policing, Surveillance & Dispersal

There has been concern around the effect of current policing tactics (such as CCTV technologies, and anti-social and public order acts) on the way in which young people use space (Redhead 1993; Rose 1994; Doyle 1998; Pearce 1998; Bessant 2003; Scoon & Bynner 2003; Nessa 2004, see also Chapter 4). In Newcastle upon Tyne there are two dominant tensions confronting the police in their efforts to maintain a secure and orderly city centre; problem one is the perception that the Goths create a 'problem' and the other is the safety of the Goths themselves is questioned due to some of the other '*roughneck kids*'[43] that come down into the area because the Goths are there, the

tensions thus between the 'dangerous' youth and danger *to* youth (see chapter 4.2). A senior PTD officer suggested as much, stating:

'*…its not so much the Goths that are the problem it's the people who follow the Goths and pick on them and rob them and everything else, the Charvers as they're called, who are causing the problem.*'[44]

The association of negativity is linked to youth, as a group, by businesses and this is reflected in the discourse they have with the police. Whilst the police have a specific mandate for the management of order in the city centre the extent to which they enforce this is built into their own strategic definitions of anti-social behaviour. This official line on what is anti-social is driven by policing policy, rather than the commercial or council line which is often more restrictive and driven by notions of perceived 'inconvenience' and 'nuisance' behaviour. The police will respond to any 'problems' reported, regardless of the group causing it, but have no illusions about the difficulty these tensions evoke in catering for everyone in the city centre, as one senior police official stated at some length:

Figure 42 - Police officers on Eldon Walk overlooking Eldon Square, taken by Goth's and posted on 'Green website' (http://www.newcastle-thegreen.tk/)

'...they [Goths] have presented a number of different problems. One of which is the traders on the Georgian side of the square because sometimes it can be up to 500 or 600 kids in a very small area so it can be quite intimidating, the noise can make it sound like a football match on occasion but all they're doing is talking and doing what kids do, that concerns some of the traders because it affects their business.

Old people that want to walk down the street can't get down there because its 'chocker' with kids. Beside the street is the square and when the square gets wet the kids trample on it and it gets flattened and you end up with a muddy area and that in itself is a bit of a problem.

So we have another problem, one is that which the Goths create, of the perception that they create a problem, and the other is the safety of the Goths themselves because some of the other roughneck kids that come down and want to steal their mobile phones, rough them up or something, so that is an issue... frankly I'm not sure the issue is actually resolvable, because certain parties don't want the kids there at all and other parties think 'live and let live' and that the kids are an integral part of city centre life, as such should be catered for like everyone else is catered for and there are varying themes on that' [45]

The ability of the police to manage the tensions between anti-social, disorderly and nuisance as valid or invalid perceptions of youth activity is limited due to the specific applicability of powers available to them. Much of the current legislation relating to anti-social behaviour[46] is specifically targeted at disadvantaged communities and estates where small numbers of young people are tyrannically harassing residents, these Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) and Acceptable Behaviour Contracts (ABCs) / Acceptable Behaviour Agreements (ABAs) do not fit as well with the transient population and flexible uses of public space in the city centre, though the application of them increases across the nation (Blackman 2005).

The potential displacement of activity driven groups into other areas seems like a logical solution to the problem, but is grounded in entrepreneurial moral concept as opposed to the reflexive reaction to the lived reality this research proposes is central to understanding public space. As a policy this approach creates a scenario of

management that divulges responsibility for young people to those smaller, less powerful subgroups and intermediaries tasked with providing play spaces. This limits the understanding of youth and allows a relocation program to become embedded in policy. If the young people aren't visibly in public space then the problematic activity can be seen as 'displaced' into other more suitable venues, or in the case of more passive forms of activity young people are 'moved on' - hence 'dispersed' - thus easing the pressure caused by large gatherings of young people in specific locations.

A wide range of context specific bye-laws targeting specific activities are increasingly levied across UK city centres in order to limit the capacity of youth to engage with the built environment through non-consuming activities (see 9.3). This tension can perhaps most explicitly be seen in the international reaction against the perils of skateboarding in cities around the world (Flusty 2000; Borden 2001b, 2001a; Wooley & Johns 2001) and may be extended to include other more 'passive' activities such as 'hanging out' in commercial and public areas.

Often it is perception of danger caused by the dominant presence of a large gathering which seems to be the dominant focus of malcontent; this can be eased in the perception of the area by other users / actors if the young people are simply elsewhere. However the police tactical remit will not allow a whole-scale ban on young people, so the end result is more of a roving patrol. When young people gather in large number the police response is largely to observe, and if nuisance occurs the option is there to 'move on' some of the young people – not displacing them from the city centre, but dispersing the group from the location.

As a management tactic for the police to engage with over the long-term this is not sustainable. Within the boundaries of the wider legal landscape underpinning the rules of public behaviour the young people must be breaking an element of the 'public order' or 'anti-social behaviour' acts in order for the police to legally disperse them. Another officer recognised the fact that there is, and probably always will be, a difference between the public perception of anti-social disorder that the police *should* act upon and the legal statute of disorder that they *can* act upon, but this does not change the fact that at times action is perceived as required, and where this is so it is done professionally:

'...when the police have been moving them [young people] on or asking them to move out of the way they felt that we were being a bit heavy handed but that's what we expect from kids, if they were mine I'd expect the same thing and if we aren't being heavy handed that's probably just how the kids will perceive it.' [47]

One of the useful tactics that the police have at their disposal for differentiating between illegal 'anti-social' behaviour and legal 'nuisance' is an intricate system of surveillance cameras covering most if not all of the city centre. This is linked into some, but not all, private surveillance networks[48] and supported by a radio link which is subscribed to by many of the larger anchor retailers in the city centre. The CCTV network is operated centrally from the Market Street police station, within a few minutes walk of OES. Despite the extensive network of cameras there is usually only a single operator on the cameras unless there is a major event occurring in the city centre[49], and the depth of the digital upgrades underway in 2004 were estimated to cost at least £250,000[50], making Newcastle at once one of the most surveilled and yet potentially one of the most undermanned CCTV operations in Europe.

In and around OES the role of CCTV is not as central as it was expected to be in the differentiation of youth groups and deviant activity. CCTV is - in this public space - the domain of the local police; despite which, the security camera from CSC pointing into the square this is on a private system and not connected to the civic network[51]. More significantly it is the policy of CSC security not to engage or interfere in activity which extends outside the boundaries of ownership in place around the upper walkway, above OES (see 7.2).

This walkway does play a small, but significant, part in the tensions between the Goths and Charvers. Several interviews and observations with both Goths on the Green and local police referred to Charvers throwing eggs, flour and on one occasion a house brick from the walkway into the crowded Goths on the pavement below[52]. These occurrences were treated with amusement by most security agents and no harm came to any of the protagonists at any point. Several of the local traders gave a quite different persepctive of these events, comparing the youths to gangs, and suggesting

that the very fact that such events occurred as enough to justify a dispersal of youth from the immediate area; citing '*they've no right to be here, it's a public space*'[53].

Despite the tensions in the perception of what constitutes disorder, CCTV has only been deployed to observe the area when specific incidents are reported by the public and no officers are in the immediate area. The general policy is that if after a surviellance 'sweep' the area appears calm then no further action is taken in regard to the complaint. If however there are clear visual signs of a disturbance then officers are sent to the scene. Officers regularly attend the area on patrol and some form of visible presence is often maintained on busy weekends and during the holidays to both assure the other users of the area that it is safe, and to protect the younger, and often the wealthier, Goths from the more parasitic activities of the small but significant criminal element within the Charver subgroup.

It would be impossible to take a full reading of every single incident report relating to the surveillance of youth in the city centre but a representative sample linking to the targeted surveillance of Eldon Square have been assessed during this research, covering several periods of 3 month intervals. This time frame was selected to cover the main periods of youth activity in the spring and summer of successive years in 2003 and 2004 (see Appendix).

Incidents reported on or near to OES were higher in these periods than in the winter months, a fact which was noted by police officers interviewed. This fact also allowed for a more focussed sample to be taken, comparing reports in the local media - of specific confrontational events between the youth groups – with the real recorded incidents. Furthermore, this gave a more representative view of any differences in how these events were recorded by different groups[54].

Over a 3 month period, from January 1st to April 1st (2003), there were 30 reports made to the police which lead to an incident of surveillance targeting OES. Of these events 25 were cited as resolution unknown, or no action needed by the police and 21 - of the complete sample (30 incidents) - were related to the activities of young people. Of these reports 15 were associated anecdotally with Goths reporting crimes conducted by Charvers, though majority of these cases were unconfirmed, referred to

as 'typical' incidents of Charver activity by the constable in question. Five were drug related reports, though only 1 of these actually resulted in an arrest and cannot be linked to any specific group as no visual data was available on the perpetrator.

A further 5 were reports relating to vandalism, a key area of concern highlighted by local shopkeepers in relation to the youth groups during interviews – these were seen as less important cases by the police, a form of nuisance and petty crime. Only in the incidents where private property was damaged were any further actions taken, and these generally resulted in a lack of available information, and no conviction.

The key incidents here, with specific actions taken by the police relate to incidents of violence between groups, of which there were 7 clear reports. Of these 7 reports of violence, only 3 of them are acted upon. The others were checked via CCTV cameras and after a targeted surveillance was conducted, referred to as a 'sweep'[55], it was decided that no further action was needed.

These reports offer several useful insights into the interplay of perception and practice with lived experiences of the public. Where violence has been reported and acted upon the instigators often cannot be proven, though again anecdotal evidence provided by the police suggest that Charvers and Goths are equally responsible for public affray, with the emphasis on Charvers for the majority of vandalism and public order offences with little or no distinct and clear proof that this is the case.

Arrests were made on two occasions leading to charges under section 4 of the Public Order Act 1986[56] – one specific case was reported in the local media under the title '*Gangs Brawling Bights Historic Square*' (Young 2003) (figure 34 – chapter 8.2), leading to an associated flurry of interest in the public (Anon 2003b, 2003e, 2003f). Significantly several reports made by concerned passers by, or in one case from a hysterical parent away from the scene, have resulted in nothing more than a surveillance sweep confirming youthful horseplay, which in the public eye has been reported as violent crime. The likelihood of conflict - whilst over represented in the public reports made to the police - cannot be ignored, as rare occurrences of violence between these groups is realistic and has been documented in police incident reports. The majority of incident reports are given a specific presentation in order to engender

a response from the police but most often result in little action due to the difference in the perception of the specific moment by the reporter (often local business or member of public passing by) and the respondent (surveillance operator / beat patrol).

On the whole the police approach towards young people is one that lies between the parental overseer and public official. It is not an enviable position to hold as the city council position suggests that public order is the responsibility of the police, as such businesses often call on the police to deal with 'the problem of youth'. The Crime Prevention Panel for communication on these issues (see above) can be seen as a group that the council would benefit from managing, though this was convened and chaired by the city centre police and was attended, at the time of writing, by a councillor from outside of the central city wards, and even then that attendance was irregular.

The official line taken by the police is that they cannot be responsible for moving young people on until they break the law, hence the implicit targeting of skateboarders by police ground level tactics (i.e. skateboarding as dangerous to other pedestrians, or criminal damage to architecture). Passive user groups such as the Goths can only be protected from 'parasitic' criminally inclined subgroups, but not shepherded towards activity based areas such as skate parks unduly.

The final aspect of this broad policy is linked to a double standard inherent in representational youth citizenship (see chapter 3). The designification of youth as a valid user group, and participants in public life is reflected in the attitude of this senior official towards the symbolic identities of youth. A lack of respect for young people appears at times endemic to the managers understanding of young people in general, and the police are no exception. Though every effort is made 'on the beat' to relate in a non-confrontational manner with the young people *in situ*, there are still signs that the lifestyles with which they engage are not taken seriously. In reference to Goths on a local VCS organisation production assessing 'the Green' a senior police official stated:

'I call them Undertaker's apprentices or Ghosts, but I don't think they'd be too amused by that.'[57]

Even here lifestyle is seen, however light-heartedly the intent, to be a passing phase and a cause of amusement. If, as suggested in this research, lifestyle distinctions such as 'Goth' are as central to the individual experience of the city, the reactive-perceptions of difference in urban space, and experiences of participation in decision-making as race or 'ethnicity', then the treatment of these distinctions in such an 'off-the-cuff' manner by a senior public official is inappropriate and demonstrates a problematic lack of understanding of young people that verges on negative discrimination.

Responses and exclusion: Anti-skating Bye-laws & Displacement

Whilst for many the potential dangers of a perceived 'gang warfare' between Goths and Charvers was closely associated to the public perception of the OES area, and the city centre, between 2000 and 2005, the issue of skate boarding in Newcastle city centre was also brought to centre stage during this time. Initially this occurred through the tensions with the 'sacred' concept of OES, as discussed, but over recent years the attention directed at skating by the public, the press and eventually managerial institutions moved out into other public areas of the city. The growth of anti-skating legislation in the city centre is good way of demonstrating how a change in the concept of appropriateness and acceptability - linked to activity within to one public space - can later affect the shifting normative morality underpinning actions across a much wider spatial network.

The need for a skate park in Newcastle, and conversely, the dangers of skating - to both the city centre architecture and to users of the city centre - was heralded in a debate in the local press in 2002 and 2003 (see figures 44. A-E), however the first anti-skating legislation came into effect earlier (table 17, see also figure 43).

The first legislative actions targeting skateboarding in the city centre of Newcastle came as a response to the nuisance caused by young skaters outside of the city council offices, on the northern border of the city centre. OES was the second city centre area to be affected by an anti-skating byelaw, only after the civic centre itself. Key to the application of the bye-law was the establishment of the Old Eldon Square Working

Area affected by Bye-law	Date passed / sealed *by Lord Mayor & Head of Legal Services*	Date brought into effect
Civic Centre	9th July 1998	24th September 1998
Old Eldon Square Memorial	22nd October 1998	9th January 1999
South African War memorial *At Haymarket*	21st October 2002	24th January 2003
The Blue Carpet *At the Laing Art Gallery*	21st October 2002	24th January 2003
St Mary's Cathedral	3rd June 2003	2nd September 2003
Bath Lane *At the end of China Town / Stowell Street*	20th November 2003	8th March 2004

Table 17. Chronology of the anti-skating byelaws in Newcastle city centre

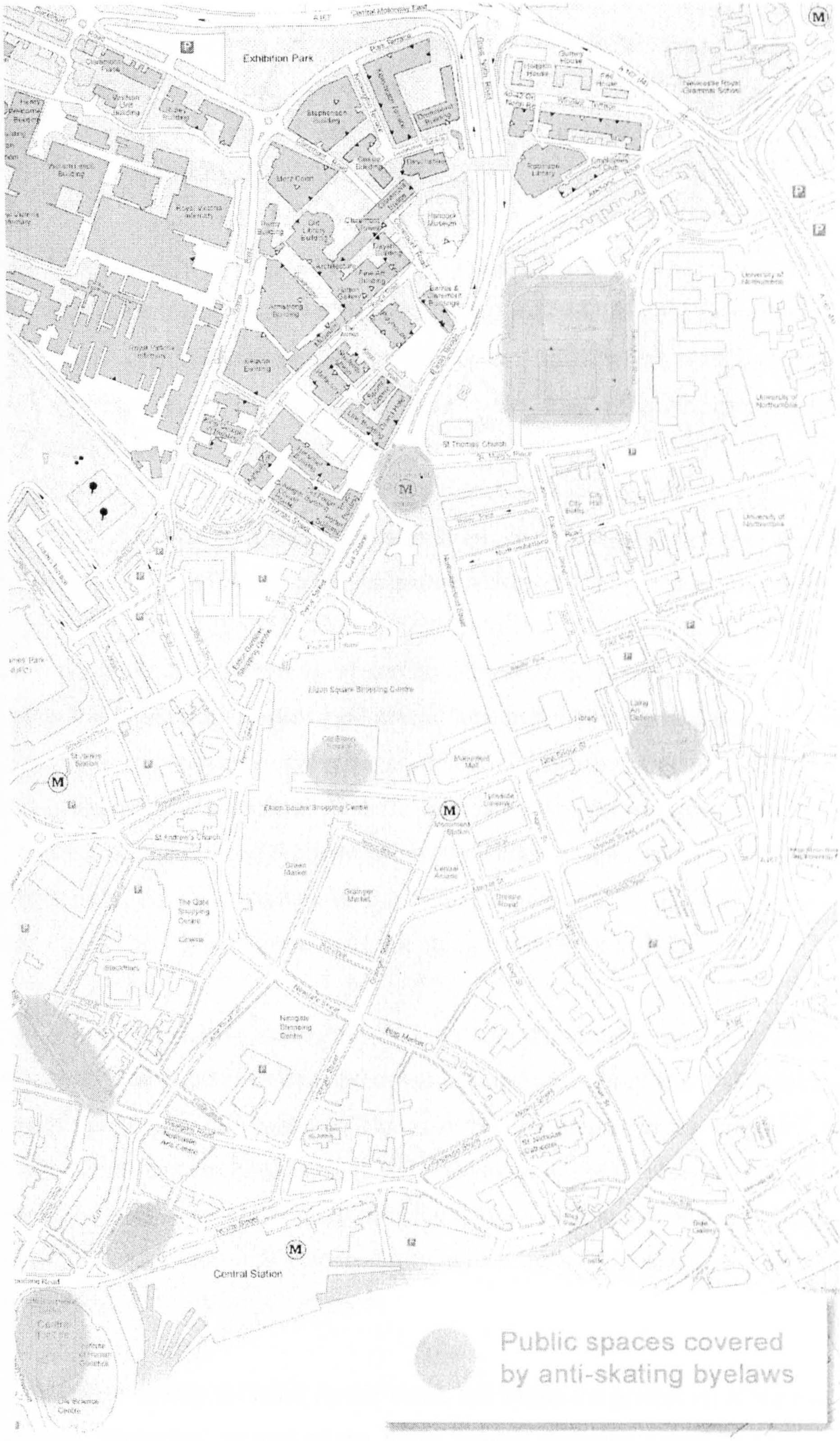


Figure 43 - Map of Anti-skating byelaws in the city centre from 1998-2004[58]

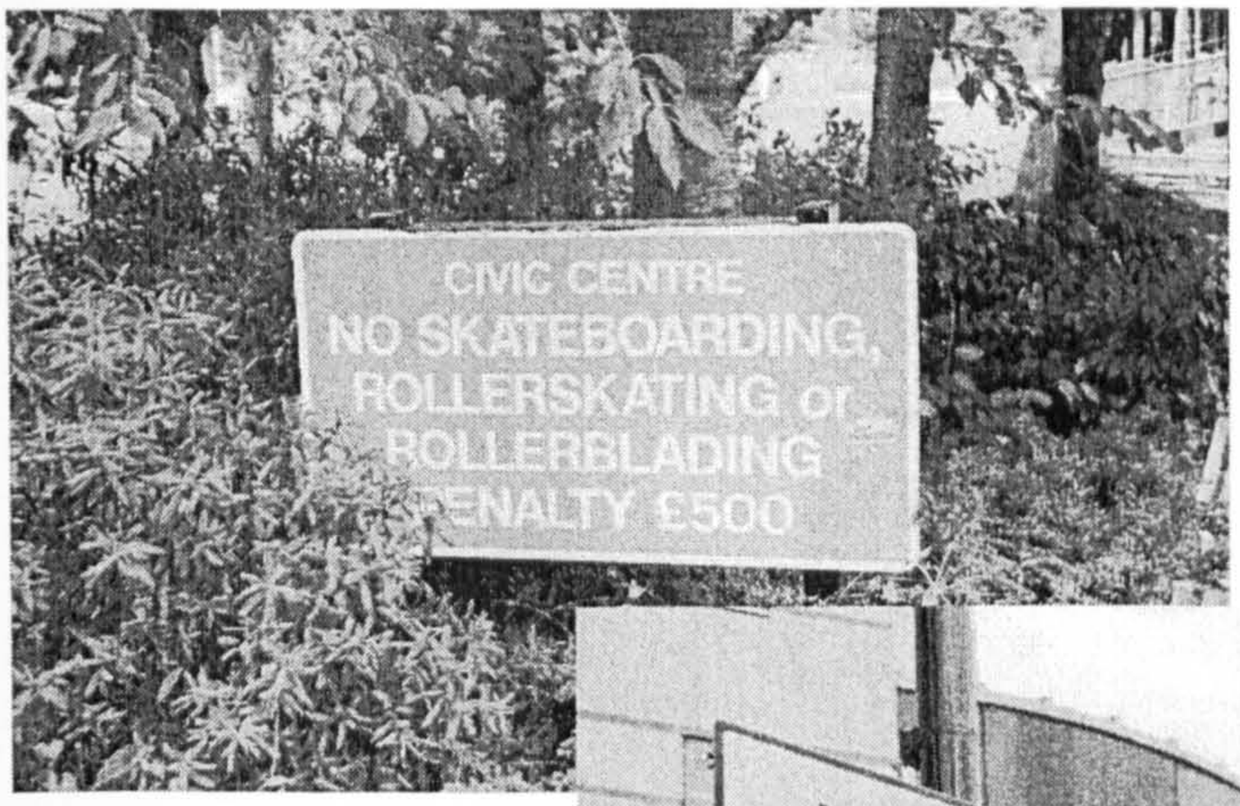
Group and the direct line this gave to ex-servicemen who were concerned over potential damage to the memorial created by this activity[59]. The coordinated response of the commemorative barriers alleviated this tension, but did not solve the 'problem' posed by 'street' skaters in the city centre.

Significantly no further bye-laws were proposed until 2002, during the Capital of Culture Bid, when concerns were raised over the potential damage caused by skaters to refurbished regeneration locations in city centre; all of which were pedestrianised public spaces and indeed some of these were sites of significant investment (particularly the Blue Carpet in late 2002).

Anti-skating bye-laws at this point spread throughout the city centre (See figure 44). Under section 235 of the Local Government Act (1972) for the 'prevention and suspension of nuisances' (N.C.C 1998) bans on skating and fines for civil disobedience levied, but remained largely unenforced. Some discussion was had informally amongst city centre Ward councillors on the potential for a blanket ban on all 'non-essential wheeled conveyance' in the city centre, contact with the 'usual suspects' in community consultation (in this case residents association on the inner city wards) had reinforced the perception of skating as a nuisance bordering on the anti-social for several members of the public at this time[60]; this has already been extended to a bicycle ban on the main shopping street (figure 44.C).

In relation to OES, it is interesting that the area demarcated as a no-skating zone covers only the central walkway and the grassy area; the peripheral walkways are not encompassed within this bye-law. This may be due in part to the emphasis of the byelaw on protection of the memorial, however it could also be due to some miscommunication and uncertainty over the future of the square and to the confusing divisions of ownership and responsibility across the public space as a whole (see chapter 7.2).

In terms of ownership the brick flower boxes fall within the protection of the bye-laws governing 'highways' as part of the Eldon Square shopping centre, though Capital Shopping Centres (CSC) Security do not enforce this bye-law at street level.



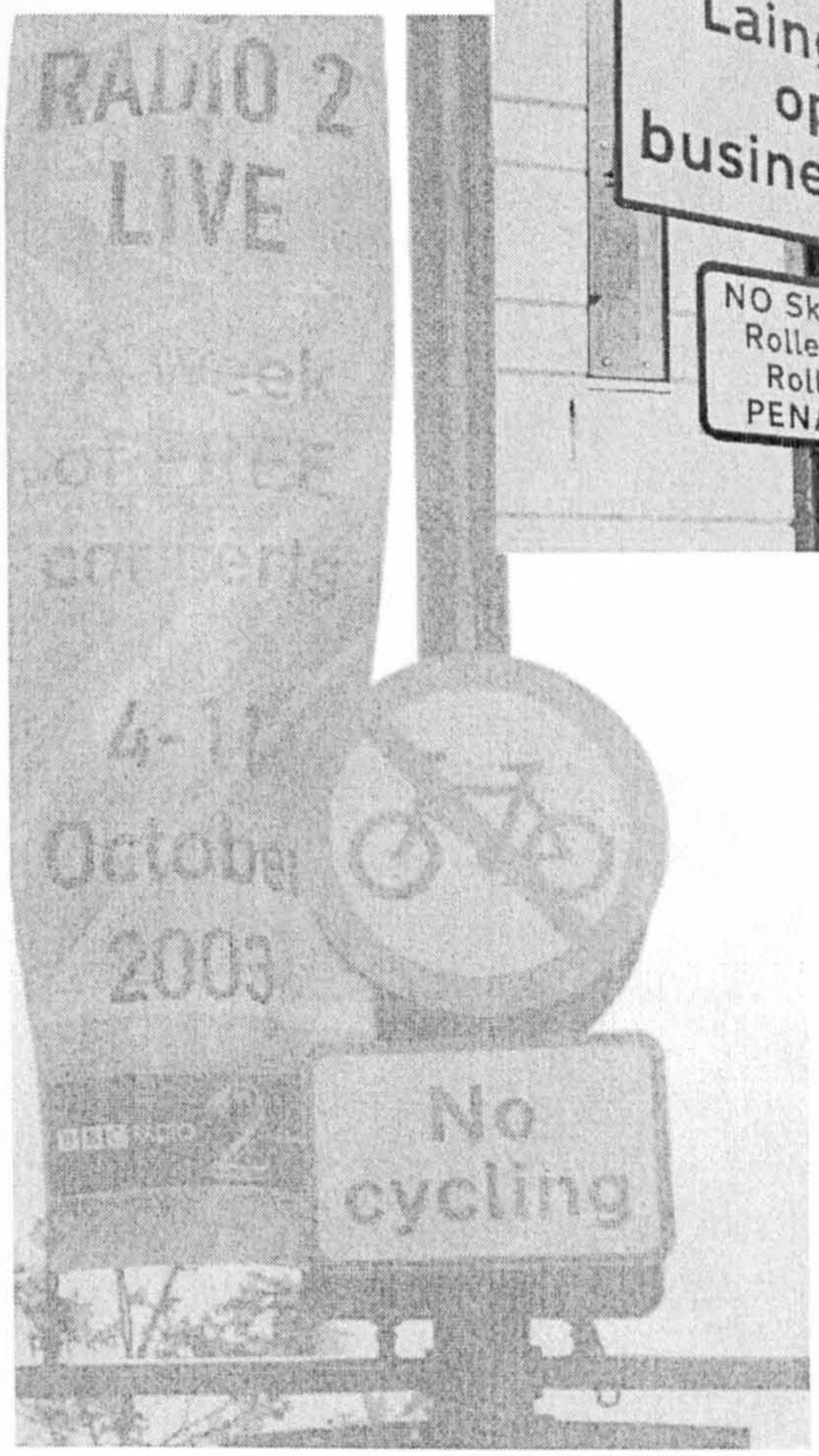


Figure 44.A-F. Skate, Cycling, Roller skating / Rollerblading fine notifications in the city centre 2001-2005. Clockwise to centre from top left.

A - Top Left - Civic Centre - 2001
B - Top Right - Haymarket - 2005
C - Bottom Right - Old Eldon Square - 2004
D - Bottom Left - Northumberland St - 2003
E - Centre – Laing Square & Art Gallery (The Blue Carpet) 2005

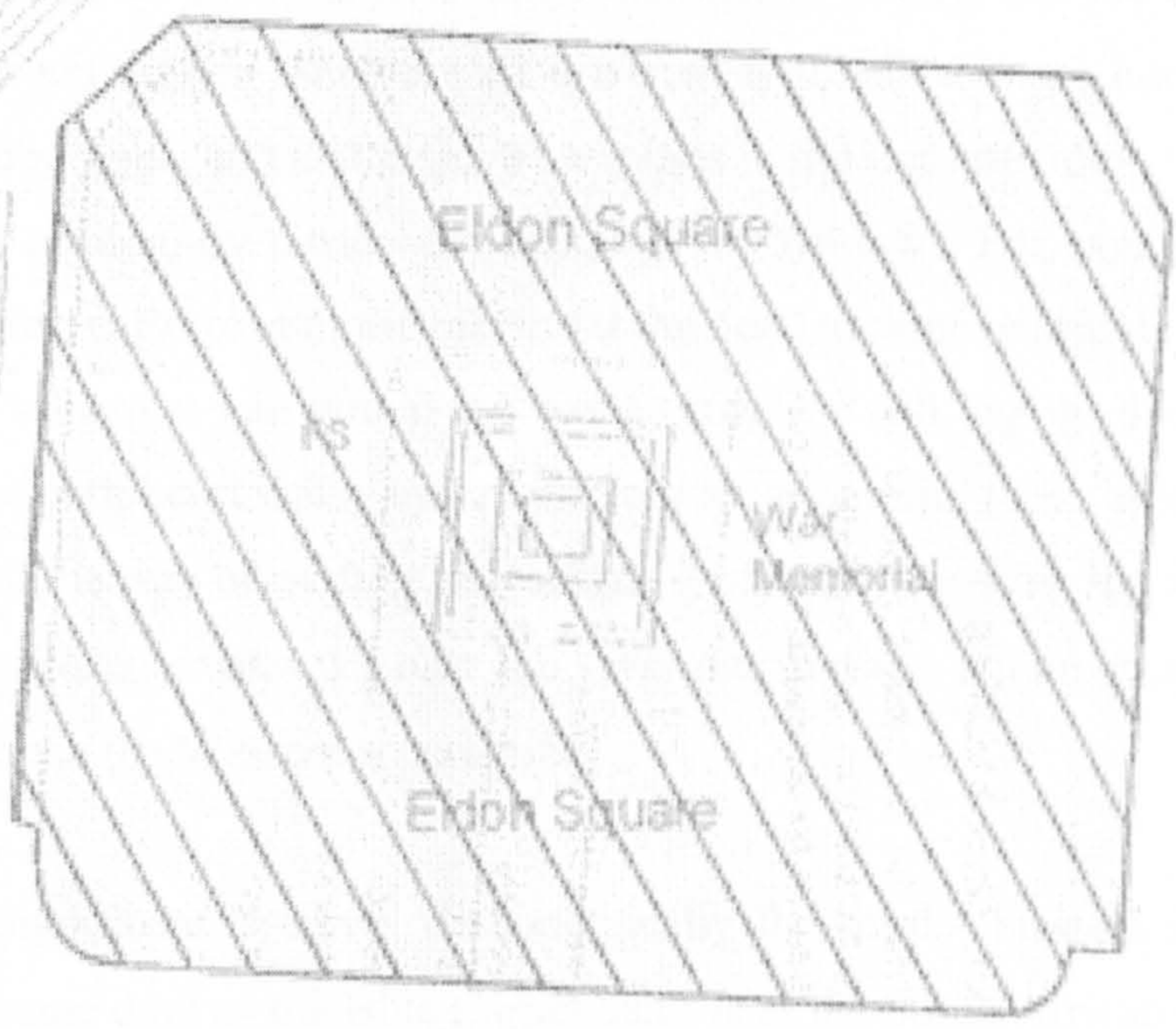


Figure 45. Anti-Skating Bye laws affecting Old Eldon Square

www.newcastle.gov

Furthermore, the 'anti-skating' bye-law covers the stone elevation at the edges of the grass but not the walkways that surround the square, leaving skaters free to gather at the rear of OES (see figure 45). Protection of the memorial was the main priority of this bye-law clearly shown through the tightly defined no-go area around the monument and this was achieved. This is notably different from the intention of the bye law at the Civic centre which acts as a wholesale ban over the entire complex. In each case it is the *intention* of each bye-law to 'displace' the skaters from the area using behavioural legislation - in the form of byelaws. This *intention* to exclude cannot be proven, as such, as an explicit element of policy, but the results of their application *in situ* suggest that there are different approaches to skating from different managerial subgroups, and that there are tensions in the understanding of urban public space, and of skating, by those who designed the bye-laws. For example despite the perceived disrespect shown to the memorial the need to remove skaters from OES did not result in a blanket ban within the space; they are still legally free to engage in skating on the peripheral walkways away from the memorial (see chapter 8.1), where they are out of the way of passing pedestrians – who may be using the walkway to the East (pedestrianised walkway) past the Georgian terrace or, for example, moving north to south via the Western access road[61].

The second significant bye-law, chronologically the third - brought in at the same time (on the same day) as the Blue Carpet ban - is at the South African War memorial at Haymarket metro station (Figure 46). Whilst this does not affect OES directly reference to other spaces throughout the network of public spaces in the city centre allows for a more general awareness of the practices of spatial production to emerge. At the Haymarket area the bye-law covers again only the areas actually used specifically by skaters, but this is extended to cover the run up area to the memorial as well as the memorial itself. This appears to show a targeted intent to remove youth from the area, and hence to displace young people - as opposed to disperse from around the Monument which appeared the case with the OES byelaw. This is also reflected in the Blue Carpet Byelaw and this could be indicative of a more significant shift in the perception of skating over that time, and in the normative morality of public space in Newcastle upon Tyne.

Figure 46. Anti-Skating Bye laws affecting Haymarket Metro Station & the South African War Memorial – North end of Northumberland Street

www.newcastle.gov

The isolated rear of the Haymarket metro station is used as a run up area to a stone parapet that runs along the edge of the pedestrian area. The steps of the memorial were used frequently by inline skaters whilst BMX and Skateboarders used this parapet. The main use of this set-up is for grind tricks where the skater uses the wheels and 'trucks' of the board, skates or bikes to slide along the edge of a raised area. This will involve the use of wax of the edges of the step to improve the traction of the grind, however the wax used leaves a residue and the grind runs the risk of damaging the architecture, these two factors combined with the potential insurance risk of damaging either themselves or a passing pedestrian have been the main impetus behind the criminalisation of street skating in large areas of the city centre.

Other less subtle attempts to relocate young skaters have taken other forms. The most explicit of these have occurred at the Haymarket memorial where at one point gravel was laid on the floor, this poses a danger to skaters making the area dangerous to skate and damaging to their equipment (Figure 47). Furthermore, in the spring of 2004 near to the opening of the skate park temporary barriers were erected blocking access to the memorial. Signs were placed apologising for the inconvenience caused by the necessary maintenance, which never took place.

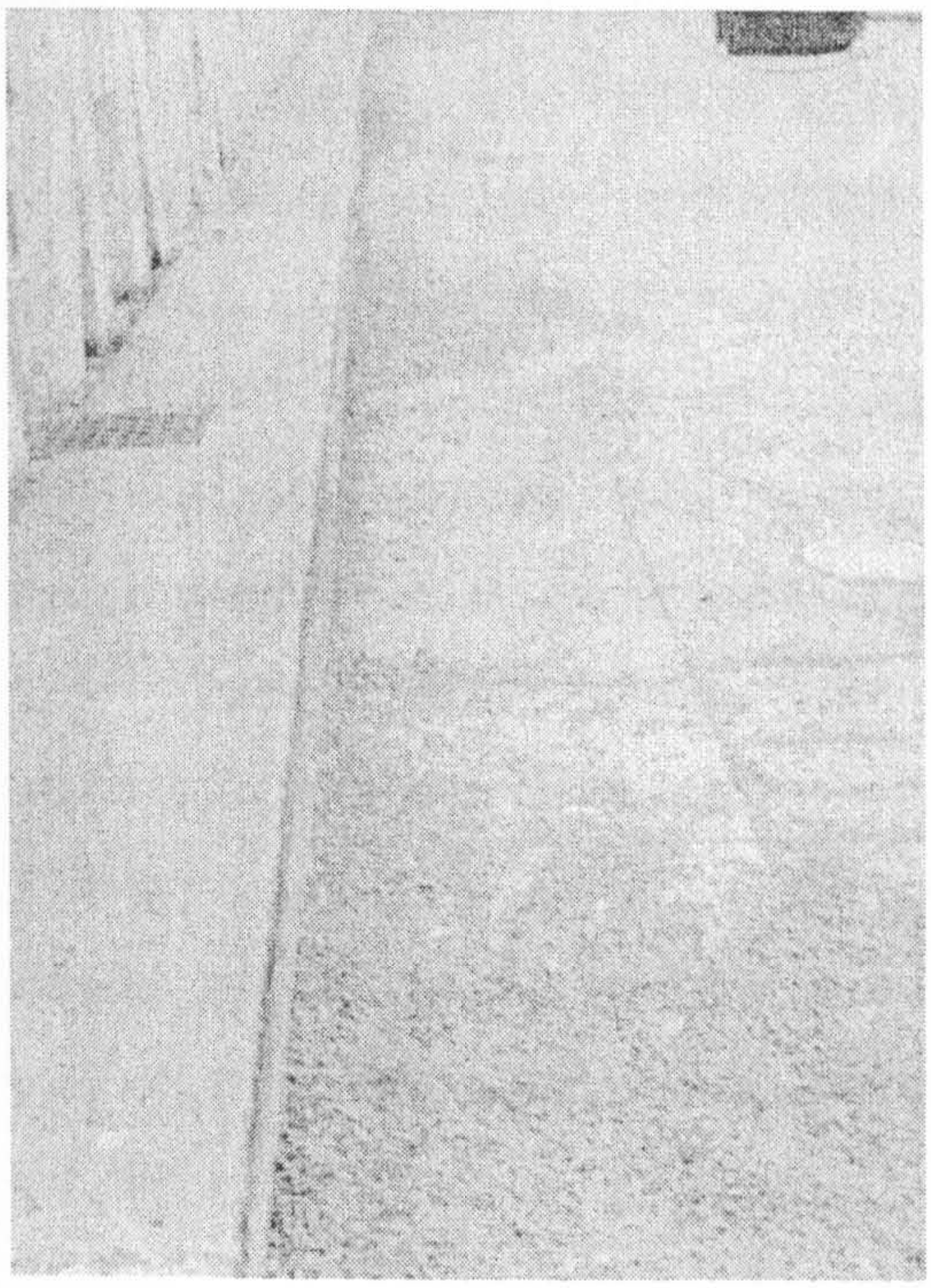


Figure 47. Gravel around the ledge - Haymarket 2003

These barriers were then removed 6-8 weeks after the opening of the skate park, it is likely – but unproven - that this was a displacement ploy to prevent skaters using the area with which they were familiar and implicitly forcing them towards the skate park[62].

Overall, there has been a reluctance to enforce the bye-laws amongst police officers interviewed, particularly in the light of a lack of provision. The full impact of the opening of the skate park on the enforcement of these laws has yet to be

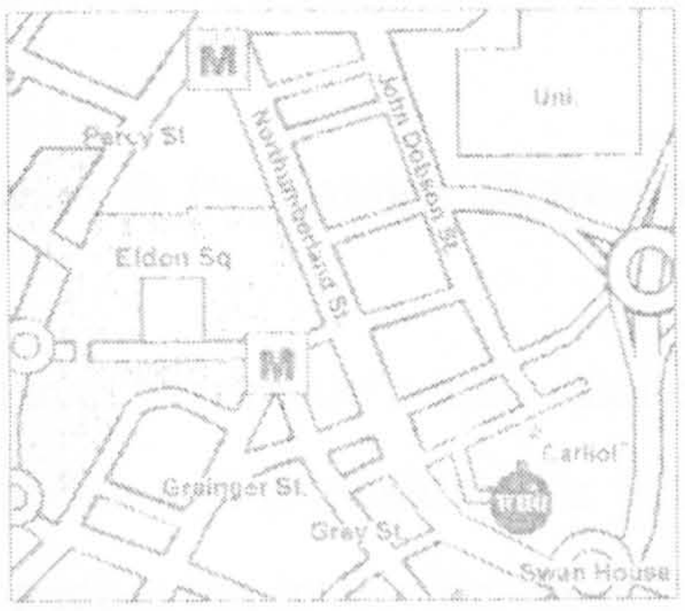
realised, but to date very few arrests or spot-fines have been issued in relation to the use of skates, bikes or boards in the city centre, however the threat remains.

Due to this perpetual threat of social and spatial exclusion it is necessary to understand the positive aspects of responses to youth that aim to provide alternative spaces. It is possible that this is simply another more subtle institutional permutation of the displacement protocols underpinning behavioural legislation. In principle, such provisions would seek to support and advance the dispersal of youth into other areas. As opposed to the active displacement of youth through more legislative means dispersal is defined through prescriptive provision driven by representations of appropriate behaviour translated into spatial provision. This is essentially limited to traditional 'playgrounds' in communities and not integrated into the rational commercial aesthetic in city centre public spaces where such activities become inappropriate due to the inability of entrepreneurial conceptual representations to accommodate diversity (see figure 5 - chapter 4).

Responses & provisions: Under 18 club-nights & Stage-Door / WHQ

One example of an alternative or of a youth oriented provision is in the creation of under-18's events, reminiscent of night-clubs, occurring in the city centre. The reasons and situation surrounding these is unique to every development in every town and this is no different in Newcastle upon Tyne. The first consistent under 18's night was created by a coalition of local DJs, bouncers and a club owner in the October of 2001 under the name the 'Lost Resort'. This was held at 'The Stage Door' night club near Stowell Street on the fringe of the city centre and in the midst of what is referred to as 'China Town'[63]. This has become one of the most established examples of an under-18's provision in Newcastle city centre and is the only rock related youth night still surviving. Others include the ill fated 'Da Flipside' (Figure 48) at World Headquarters night club and the more chart music oriented 'IKON NITE' at the Ikon club on the Blue Carpet which caters to the Charver's and some other style groups in the city centre.

Whilst 'Lost Resort' is the longest standing and only successful alternative event for targeting Goths, and to a lesser extent skaters, more significant as an attempt to



'DA FLIPSIDE'
@ WHQ, CARLIOL SQ.
METAL/GOTH
HIP HOP/SKATE PUNK
UNDER 18'S WELCOME
FREE ADMISSION WITH THIS FLYER

NEED METAL...? GOT METAL!!
@ WHQ, CARLIOL SQ.
SAT 2ND AUGUST 1 - 5PM

'DA FLIPSIDE'

Figure 48. Flyer advertisement for 'Da Flipside' at World Headquarters

redefine the way in which young people use the city centre was 'Da Flipside'. The reason this event has been singled out is due to the timing. The original trial of the event in the summer of 2003 saw only 3 events actually taking place before the 'Da Flipside' was discontinued. Several reasons have been given for this ranging from anti-social conduct by those in attendance, damage to the night club and financial impracticality (i.e. it made no money)[64].

However, in this research it is seen as a coordinated attempt by the police with a local club owner to stream young people away from Old Eldon Square at peak times on a Saturday afternoon, thus removing young people from the area by providing an alternative venue for gathering, both away from the commercial core - the club World Headquarters is located on the commercial periphery of the city centre - and to put young Goths in a secure environment within a building where they would be safe from any antagonistic Charvers. The main reasons young people claimed that they

didn't go were '*it was too hot and stuffy*', and '*we wanted to be outside in the summer not in a hot dark room*'[65].

Responses & Provisions: Skate-park in Exhibition Park

For many Newcastle's new skate park has become a landmark success in the consultation and provision of a youth oriented development, not only developed for young people but involving them in many of the key stages of the development itself. The majority of the development of the project proposal was coordinated within Parks and Countryside Service (PCS) and what was then known as the 'Cityworks' directorate (now Neighbourhood Services) linking to the provision of a skate 'park'. As seen in the preliminary research conducted by Brunswick Young Peoples Project (BYPP) the largest significant 'need' was for the construction of a skate park (17%) (see figure 49) [66], closely followed by more affordable leisure – this can be seen as 'killing two birds with one stone' as a skate park once built does have low administration costs. This was facilitated by work done by local documentary services Swingbridge, as an adjunct to the Grainger Town project, as part of which young people were also filmed during a documentary, ending on the memorable and clear citation: "*Build a skate park*" (Swingbridge 2001).

Third sector agencies have frequently been connected to youth consultation in Newcastle when this has been a part of the planning process (see 9.1). A report entitled 'City Centre Provision for Young People in Newcastle' (Thompson et al 2001) gives an example how this tactic for youth consultation can be successfully linked back into regeneration. This was produced by the BYPP and was central in raising awareness in NCC around the issue of skating in the city centre. The research used 10 youth projects around the city centre and targeted 'vox-pop' style on the spot interviews at OES on a series of Saturday afternoons to allow for the inclusion of 'greenies'[67] as a key youth group in the city centre (ibid: 1-2).

The difficulties in youth provision were made clear (see figure 49) but this consultation was instrumental in developing the awareness of a youth issue in terms of the need for dedicated youth related facilities in the city centre:

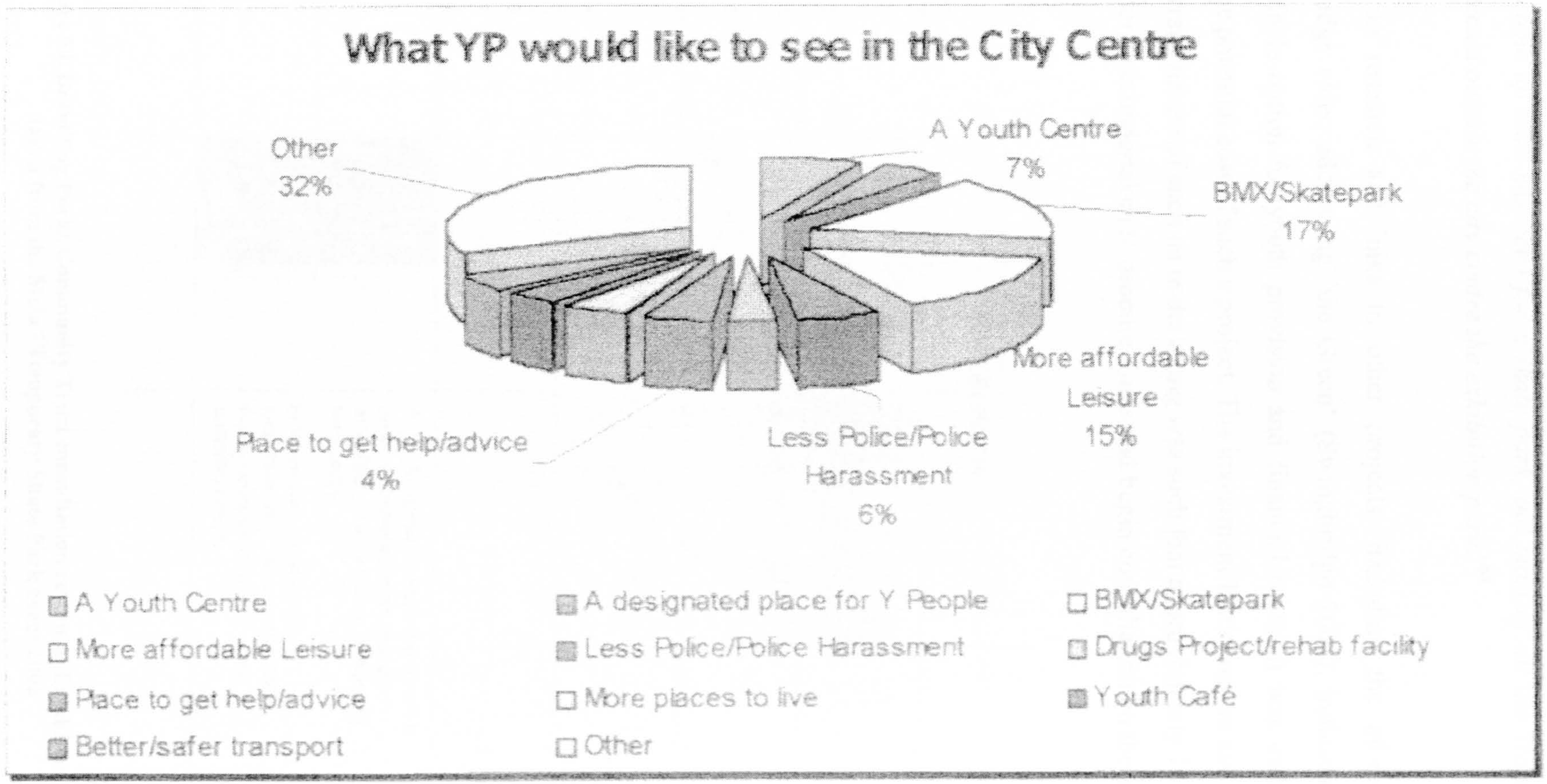


Figure 49. Table showing 'what young people would like to see in the city centre' from the BYPP report (Thompson et al: 5)

'We've talked to some of the young people about that and most of the ideas that they've come up with has been for a skate park, but most of all the skate park has been directed outside the city centre the exhibition park.'[68]

Follow up research and links to other projects, including the aforementioned Swingbridge video addressing 'the Green' (Swingbridge 2001), indicated that this was a viable option for youth provision and financial research was undertaken to assess the potential cost of such a project. The investment-heavy nature and somewhat controversial nature of such an undertaking was such that approximately 18 months of negotiation was undertaken to procure funds and begin consultation on the project.

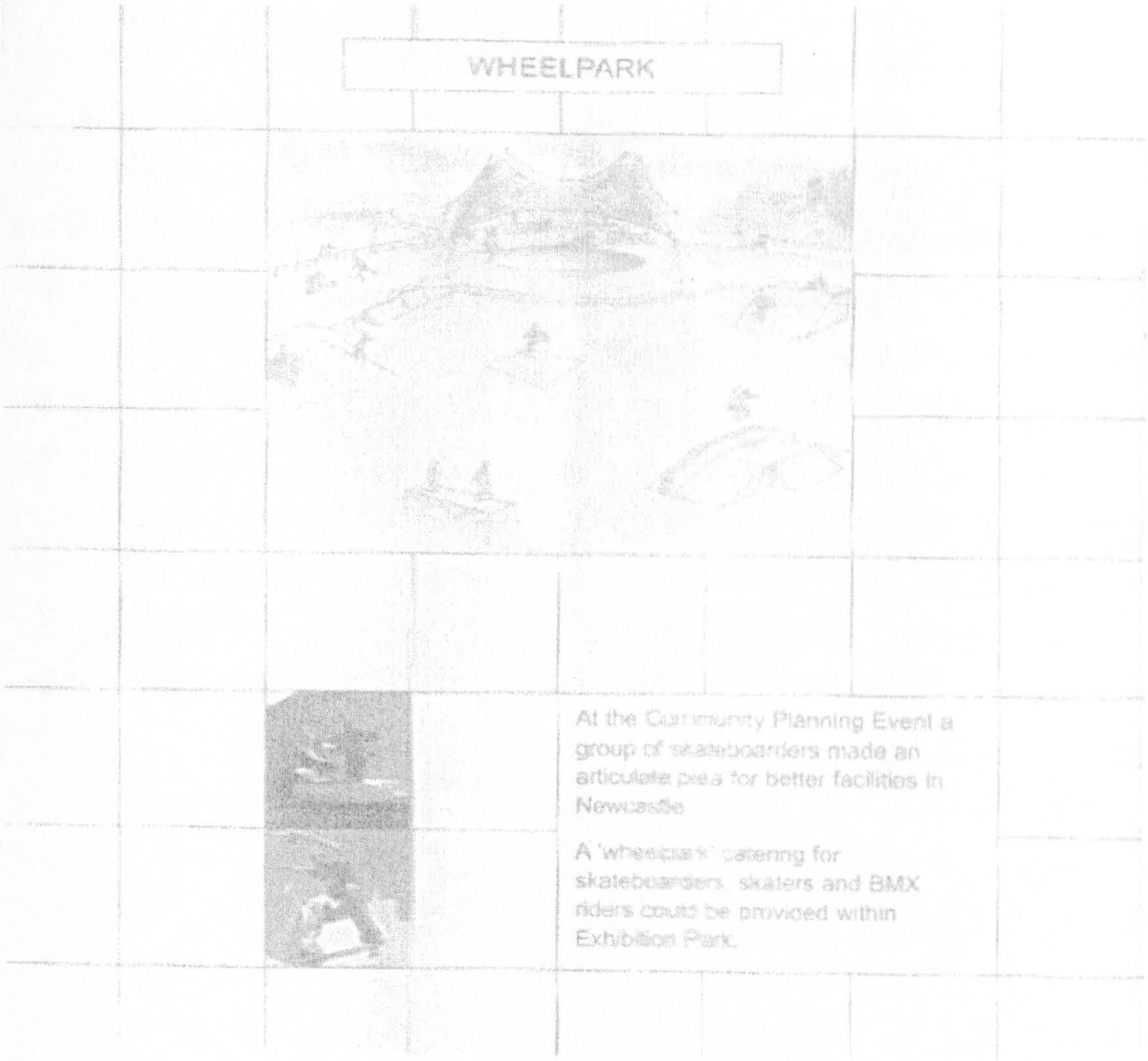


Figure 50. Brandling Parks Community Trust consultation review of Exhibition park – taken from the Mela / Temporary Skate Park event 2002

The broader consultation processes triggered a growth in the interest of provision relating to skating facilities and from the very beginning tried to incorporate the skate community into the planning process itself. The awareness of skating as '*more than a fad*'[69] began to grow as this work and follow up sessions were held at both the Brunswick community church (near Old Eldon Square – Feb 2001) and the civic centre (NCC offices during 2002-2004). These showed that a coherent community of participants existed across the city as a whole, that they gathered in certain areas of the city centre to engage in communal activities of skating and that a substantial provision for skating was needed, both in the interests of providing for youth activity and in the interests of protection for the public architecture in the areas where these groups gathered[70].

In planning this project the council had to be aware of other interests, such as seeking a balance between the skate park development and plans for a botanical garden - in the favoured redevelopment area - by Newcastle University. Also negotiation with the Exhibition & Brandling parks community groups and seeking planning permission for the project had to be undertaken (Figure 50) before the final decision to give funding to this endeavour was made, although claims as to why this decision was made vary. Anecdotal information suggests that there is a personal connection of certain councillors children to skating sped the process forwards once it reached a critical mass in terms of public interest[71], but the most explicit consultation work was conducted by the 'skate culture' specialists 'Tribe'. This group conducts high quality consultant work on skate park provisions, and was brought in by the council to address the tensions of skating in the city centre.

The motivation of this group is to balance the anti-skating sentiment generally directed towards the activity with the provision and regulation of urban public areas, '*promoting a pro-skating agenda with a word of caution*' as one member of the group suggested. In Newcastle upon Tyne they conducted a survey of the city centre, and set up a temporary skate park event conjoined with the Mela celebrations (Over a bank Holiday weekend in August 2002 – see figure 51). At this event consultants over saw the number of skaters, charted the level of interest from the local skating community and compiled information through questionnaires (255 completed questionnaires were collected).

Tribe achieved an open ended analysis of the skate culture in Newcastle, and offered recommendations for the next steps towards provision that would benefit the councils need to proactively manage the city centre. The lack of any official quality skating provision within the city centre needed to be addressed, though this kind of provision would not be a wholesale solution to the problem of skating, but was promoted as the best way of managing the tensions brought out by skaters and BMXs in the city centre:

'*...a good skate facility in the area, offering the challenges that the skaters need and a place they can take ownership of, will reduce skaters on the streets, and make it easier for skaters when restrictive measures are put in place. It is worth noting tha, as some areas become restricted to skaters, new areas may emerge*' (Grafham 2002: 18)

However carefully worded this consultation is, and despite the best intentions of the skate consultants in this case, the application of the research by the Newcastle City Council does not reflect the best intentions towards skaters described above. It clearly becomes a strategy for the displacement of skating from the city centre, however this is not an antagonistic whole-scale ban, but a more gentle displacement - in terms of raising awareness and implementing provision:

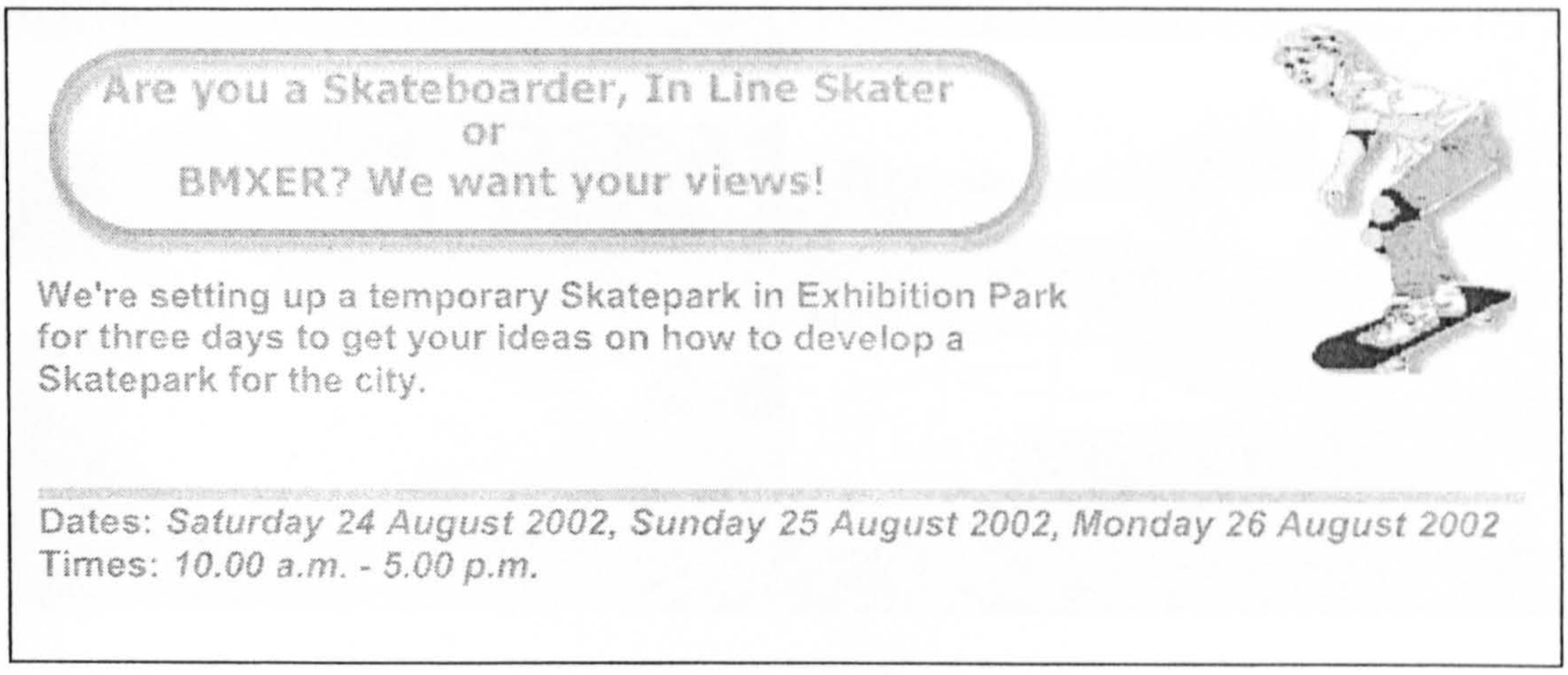


Figure 51. Excerpt from web page advertisement of Skate consultation events at the Mela – August 2002. Taken from www.newcastle.gov.uk (21/05/03)

'*The subculture that we are focusing on largely has its roots in the streets and urban architecture. In providing a permanent skate park, or purpose built facilities, we are offering and alternative to the 'adopted' sites in the city centre. It is a positive measure by the council with which to support anti skate measures elsewhere in the city.*' (Grafham 2002: 3)

The skating design steering group was set up by contacting those whose details were collected from the Tribe consultation, including a range of skaters of all ages and dispositions (Skate boards, BMXs, Inline skates / Rollerblades – aged 12-35). The city council contracted an experienced skate park designer who then liaised with the panel on the scale of the area the budget restraints and the types of features required by those who would then subsequently be using the park to create a design that fulfilled all the requirements of safety, the frequency of competitions (should there be any), lighting (floodlights for 'night-riders'), access (who and at what age are people

Figure 52.A-D
A & B - Top Left & Right - Sod turning 3rd September 2003
C & D - Bottom Left & Right - Skate park construction images (undated)
Pictures taken from www.newcastle.gov.uk/skate.nsf/ (courtesy of Anthony McKenna)

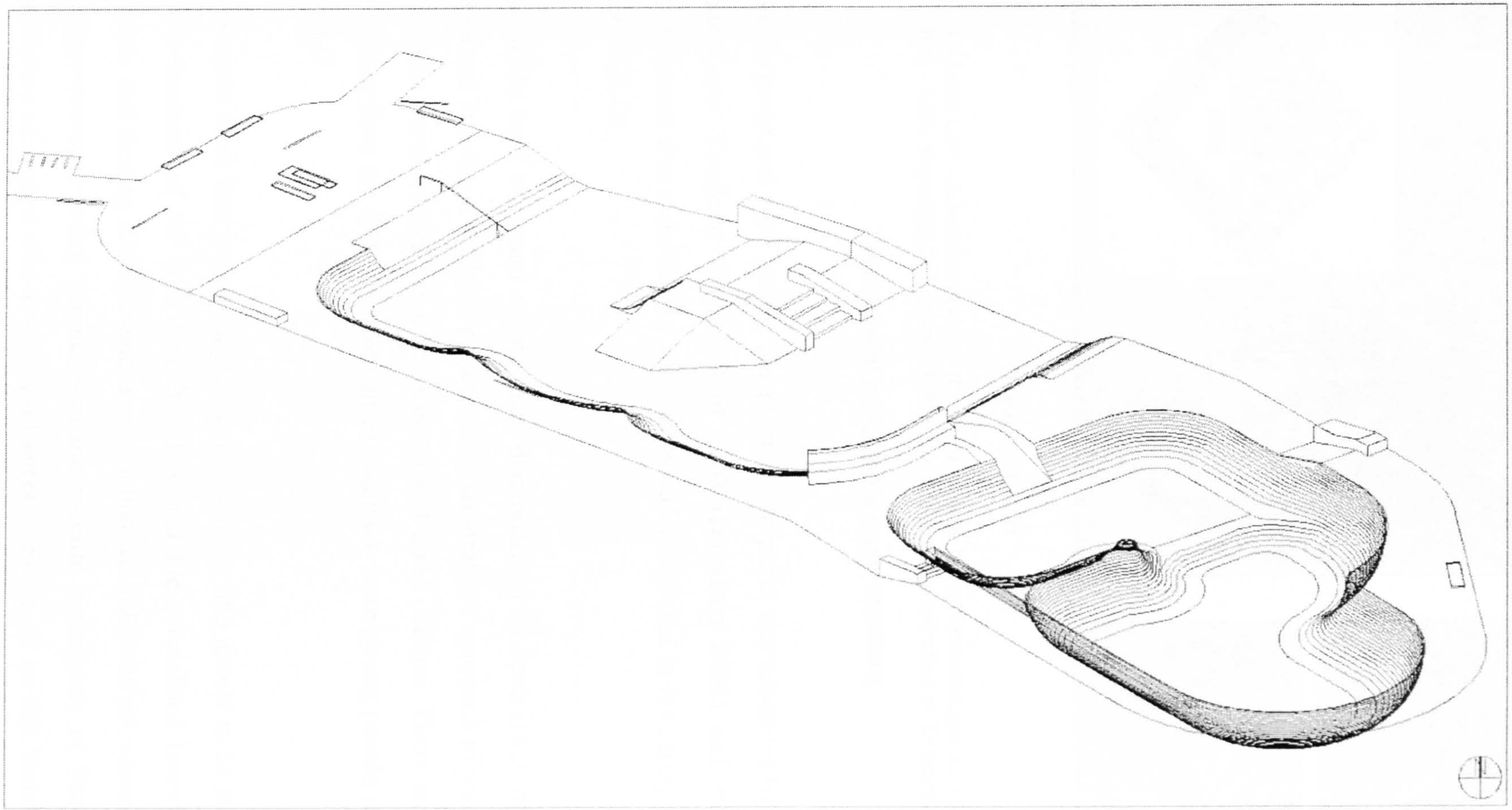
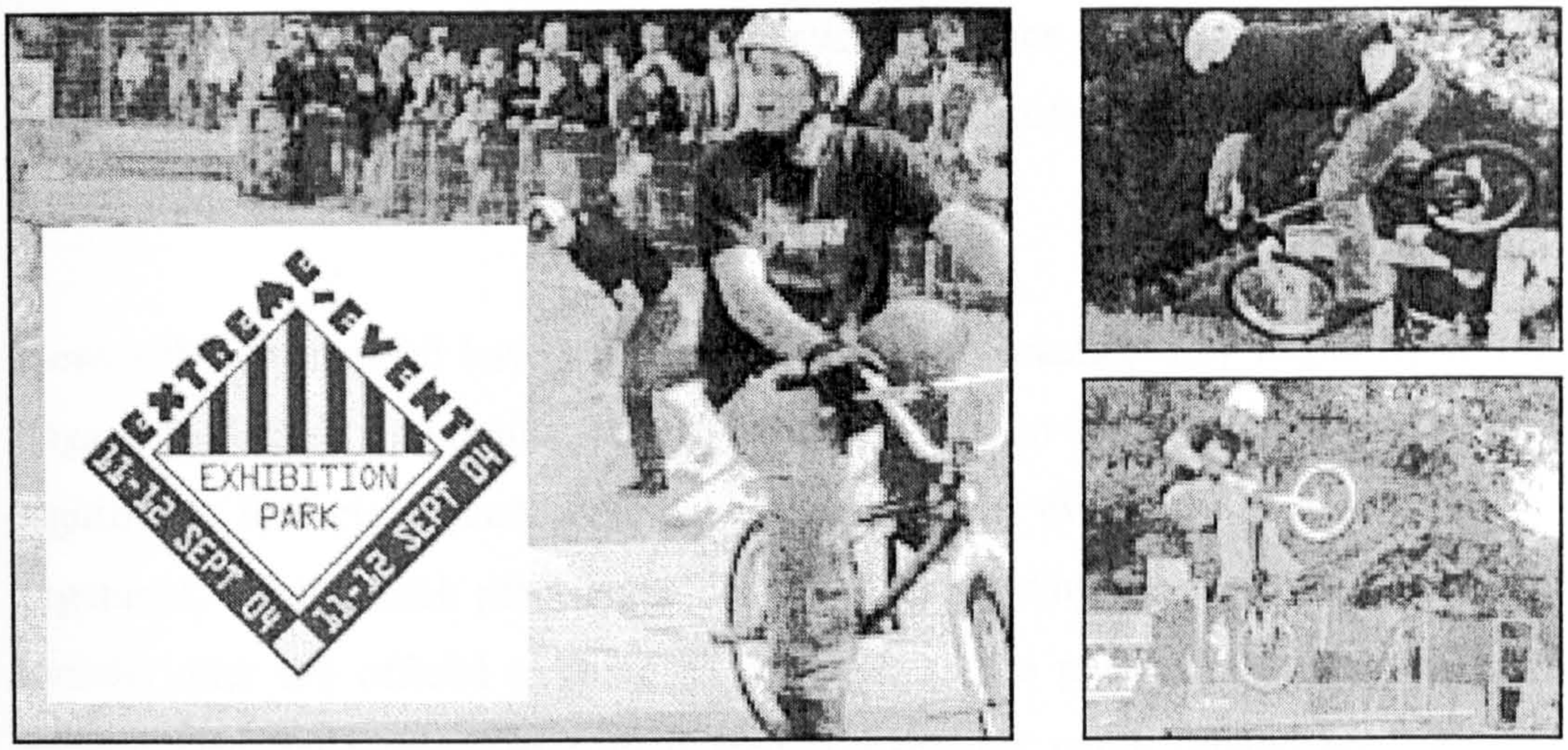


Figure 53 - The final design of the skatepark – taken from http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/skate.nsf/a/home (01/05/05)



Figures 54. A-D

A - Inset Left - Advertisement for the event - taken from Newcastle.gov.uk (20/05/05)
B-D - Left, Top-right & Bottom Right – pro BMX demonstration at Exhibition Park

Taken from http://www.bbc.co.uk/ (20/05/05)

to use the park) and other issues. The planning proposal was submitted by the Head of Planning and Transport in August of 2003 (Davidson 2003) and the skate-park redevelopment was underway by September and completed in the spring of 2004 (see figure 52.A-D).

Through the hard work and commitment demonstrated by several key officers in the council and liaisons at the local police the wider strategic approach to young people in governance demonstrated some key elements of good practice. There are also points to be taken from the form and content of feedback from young people through these sessions.

It was made clear that young people wanted security and access to be main points in the development of the park and that they had the specialised knowledge of the materials and skating environment to ensure that use followed provision. During this time incorporating young people from the specific community of Skaters into the consultation of design was a significant success. So much so that tentative attempts were made to incorporate this panel into other areas of Play and Youth Services (PYS)[72]. These attempts were met with mixed response from young people, some

simply shrugged, others were enthusiastic but once the skate park build was undertaken the contacts with these user groups, painstakingly built up through the steering panel sessions, were allowed to dissipate.

Newcastle city council have followed up the good practice they began by trying to engage the skater community, though efforts rolled out slowly and with little further significant financial investment. A weekend skate event at the skate park was organised, but this took place (heralded in panel meetings as a launch event) over 6 months after the official opening of the park to the public (Figure 54.A-D). The council also have launched a dedicated website for youth related services as the council seeks to build on its successes[73], but further connections and investment in the skate park and events has not been developed and the park is now left largely under the management of the users.

Wider issues of youth policy and participation are problematic for the city council given a range of standard practices for consultation that simply do not engage young people. More progressive methods have been developed – such as the one day events promoted by the Young Peoples Participation Coordinator in 2003 – however the chosen methods of participation are often reiterated – sending out questionnaires and holding panels with a motley assortment of representatives and young people - and a clear lack of innovation was evident in the processes of youth consultation, much to the frustration of key intermediaries, such as the Young Peoples Participation Coordinator (YPPC) and the City Centre Services Manager (CCSM).

Location, Location, Location

The significance of the location, and its method of selection, cannot be ignored; particularly since Exhibition Park was suggested very early on in the process as 'an out of the way' spot where Skaters 'wouldn't be a bother to anyone'[74]. It was made clear that the dominant request from young people in terms of provision has been for a dedicated city centre venue for them to gather in safety and socialise without fear of reprisal of dispersal from security agencies (Thompson 2001). Despite these concerns the city council, on the advice of the Tribe group, fast-tracked a peripheral location – the under pass at the rear of exhibition park – and relented on moving the park scheme

to the near side of the park under the open air (Figure 55) only after concerns were raised in the skate design panel meetings over safety and potential for criminal domination of the space were it made too marginal and 'out of the way'[75].

The location recommended by the skate report was Exhibition Park (also the location of the trial run during the Mela), but the councils initial intention, negotiated with the Brandling Park Trust (a form of Local Residents Association and custodians of the area), to put the skate park underneath a nearby overpass at the far rear of the park raised concerns amongst the younger members of the steering group about safety, and the potential for such a marginal space to become derelict and dangerous[76]. A renegotiation saw the park relocated to the front of Exhibition Park - well lit and in the open air - near the Newcastle University campus - with easy access routes to the city centre and local transport - and adjacent to a busy roundabout - which would help cover the noise during the day.

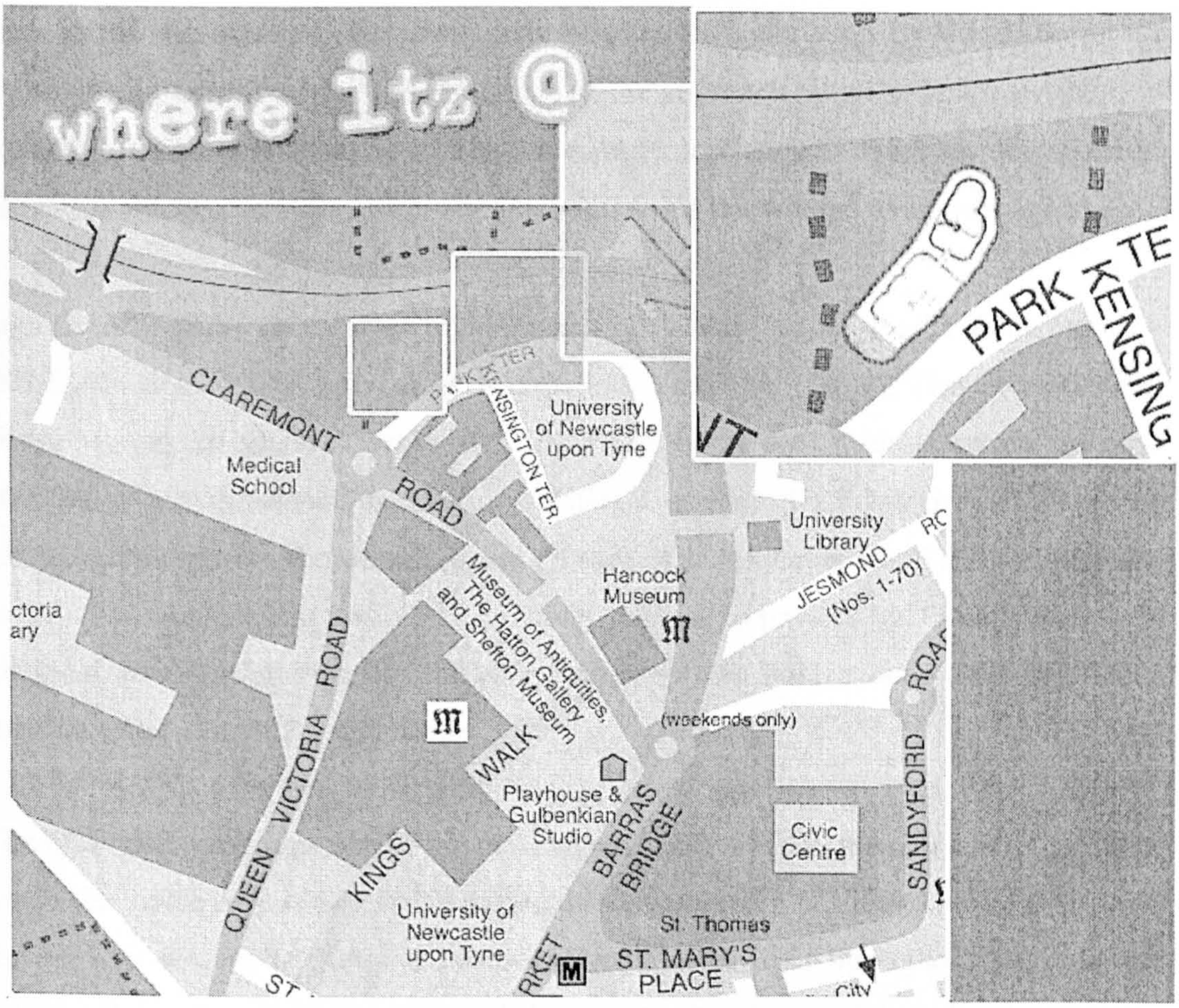


Figure 55. Location of the skatepark – taken from www.newcastle.gov.uk/skate.nsf/

The high likelihood that this location was to be picked was noted, and highlighted, as another attempt to displace and disperse young people, as stated by this representative of a city centre Voluntary and Community Sector organisation:

'*To me its just about moving young people outside the city centre which is just to get rid of the problem somewhere else, the young people are saying that they want to be in the city centre; its where they meet people and what they want is a safe meeting place, they divven' deliberately go anywhere with the intention of upsetting anybody but that's the place where they gather and that seems to upset people for some reason. It's mainly because their young I think.*'[77]

The location of the park at the northern most edge was seen by this Voluntary and Community Sector representative as another attempt to redirect young people out of the commercial areas of the city centre as a part of the city councils' wider strategy of displacement through provision; essentially an outcome of design-led strategic methods of regeneration. However the consultation undertaken by the Tribe group highlighted a more positive interpretation of the approach taken in house by the city council, to this end it seems as though the expert knowledge of Tribe has been used to gather knowledge and then the council has fitted this knowledge to its own agenda.

Significantly of the seven areas highlighted as key skate 'spots' by the Tribe report - Old Eldon Square War Memorial, Haymarket, The Blue Carpet, The Civic Centre, Greys Monument, Queens Banks, The Quayside - only 3 of these areas are not now affected by a bye-law making skating an illegal activity. Of these Greys Monument has a high pedestrian thoroughfare and as such is not suitable for skating during the hours where such activity would be an inconvenience to passers-by. Queens Bank is a marginal area on the fringe of the city centre and has largely been used by BMXs from an older group demographic.

The Quayside represents one of the more regenerated areas in the city centre, and it is ironic that much of this pedestrian oriented redevelopment has led to increased use of the area by skaters as the boundaries and movement lines throughout the area are 'softened' by the aestheticisation of the space. Benches and low level steps are abundant, and equally not intended for use by skaters. The Tribe report has

recommended that in the same fashion as Monument, large numbers of pedestrian footfall discourage use by skaters, thus by leaving skate friendly benches and low level steps in the area it effectively opens up the area for skaters at periods of the day when fewer people are around. Whilst the council have discussed bye-laws for this area none have as yet been applied for across the quayside, but a heavy rotation of security personnel, both public and private, do patrol the area and skaters frequently have commented on the short time they have to skate in the area before they are moved on may have something to do with this, and the profusion of CCTV camera in the area[78].

The broader expectations of the councillors with whom this development was discussed had the impression that the skate park would solve all of the problems related to skating in the city centre. A view applied to OES and strongly supported by a senior official in Planning and Transport Division (PTD):

'*...we're not going to have policemen standing at every corner to kick the Goths out, what we want is for there to be a natural change a natural rebalancing of things in OES that if we've got more normal people walking through the centre, going through OES and passing back into the centre, more normal activity passing through the square then it'll balance out how its used.*'[79]

This suggests many things. Of most importance is the implication in this statement that young people are not 'normal' – enforcing a conceptual 'otherness' on young people – and secondly that there would be significant changes to the city centre, but around Old Eldon Square in particular, once the skate park was redeveloped and new changes to the design of the space encouraged more footfalls in the area – thus displacing young people, who as tribe suggested in the case of Monument there becomes; '*no real need...to impose any anti-skate measures at this site because the public are doing a good enough job already*' (Grafham 2002: 12).

What this reflection on the assorted responses of the managerial actors has proven is that young people are treated as passive subjects, unless directly addressed by intermediaries, and thus are subject to a wide range of efforts made by managers on their behalf with an undercurrent intention of relocation to a more appropriate facility

embedded in representations and processes of provision. With this emphasis on relocation implicit in managerial policy it is necessary to understand the implications of this system of displacement and dispersal as it rolls out across the city centre.

Displacement & Dispersal in Networked Public Space

The Goths and Charvers have experienced displacement in different ways to the Skaters. The key here is that Skaters whose tensions with urban renaissance policy arise out of an active engagement with the space through the re-appropriation of use, essentially skating (see Borden 2000, 2002), are subject to behavioural legislation as tactics of *displacement*. The Goths, as yet discussed much less in this chapter for this reason, are subject to relocation through a less structured 'moving on' of large groups in a form of *dispersal*, and the Chavs are caught between the two; falling foul of behavioural legislation - through criminal or anti-social guidelines - but also being 'moved on' due to frequent occurrences of intimidation or threatening behaviour and regular examples of vagrancy, begging, and the resultant impact of these on these on the quality of life experiences of other urban inhabitants. This can also be associated with tensions brought forth in research on CCTV operators (Graham 2002; McCahill 2003) and the assumption of criminality and tensions with exclusion from private spaces (as discussed above).

In relation to the tensions on OES several of the Goths related feelings that they may not be welcomed in the area by all other users, however they simply did not let this negative external perception affect them in their social activity - on more than one occasion stating '*we're not going anywhere its our place to hang out*'[80]. Despite strategies targeted at relocating the Goths into a music oriented venue (9.3) and increasing interest in the use of antisocial behaviour orders (ASBOs) to control criminally inclined young people, they continue to gather in the liminal public spaces of the city centre. In fact these marginal disorderly spaces have been connected by other research to the needs of children to enact autonomous activity free from the authorities, which bind them in other spheres, such as the home and school. These spaces thus are seen as central to the development of successful transitions into autonomous and socially responsible adulthood, yet they are increasingly eliminated from the urban landscape (Cloke & Jones 2005: 321-323).

Responsibility for specific dispersals of young people occurring in Newcastle upon Tyne city centre, particularly experienced by Goths and Charvers, have been linked to the police[81], but in reality the local police can only enact what are described in this work as 'dispersal' tactics - i.e. moving on young people - and then only if there are real, reported and recorded incidents of anti-social behaviour. The Newcastle Anti-Social Behaviour Unit was set up in July 2004 and comprises of police officers and Your Homes Newcastle staff (tenancy enforcement officers and assistants). It is extremely difficult to assess accurate data on anti-social behaviour legislation in practice, in part due to the wide variety of regional variations in acronyms and applications as different versions of Anti-social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs), Acceptable Behaviour Contracts (ABCs) and Acceptable Behaviour Agreements (ABAs) and the range of 'relevant agencies' who can apply and enforce them in practice – from Tenancy enforcement officers, local police officers, to Registered Social Landlords (RSLs) etc. In Newcastle there are no ABAs specifically applied to the city centre[82].

The size of the city centre – covering less than a mile square which is mostly retail, pubs and clubs – and low residential population creates a situation by which there is no central point for collection of data. The Anti-Social Behaviour Unit relies on various agencies who inform them of any ABAs that have been carried out in the local area as these are less formal constraints than the more serious ASBOs.

Eight ASBOs (at the time of writing) have been granted affecting individuals within the city centre. The evidential standard used to assess the importance and need for an ASBO to be granted indicates that there must to be '*evidence of a pattern of behaviour which causes or is likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to any individual not of the same household*'[83]. Only one of these was applied to a young female shoplifter for repeat offending, all of the other seven related to drinking offences, begging and vagrancy or criminal activity linked to the night rather than day-time economy[84].

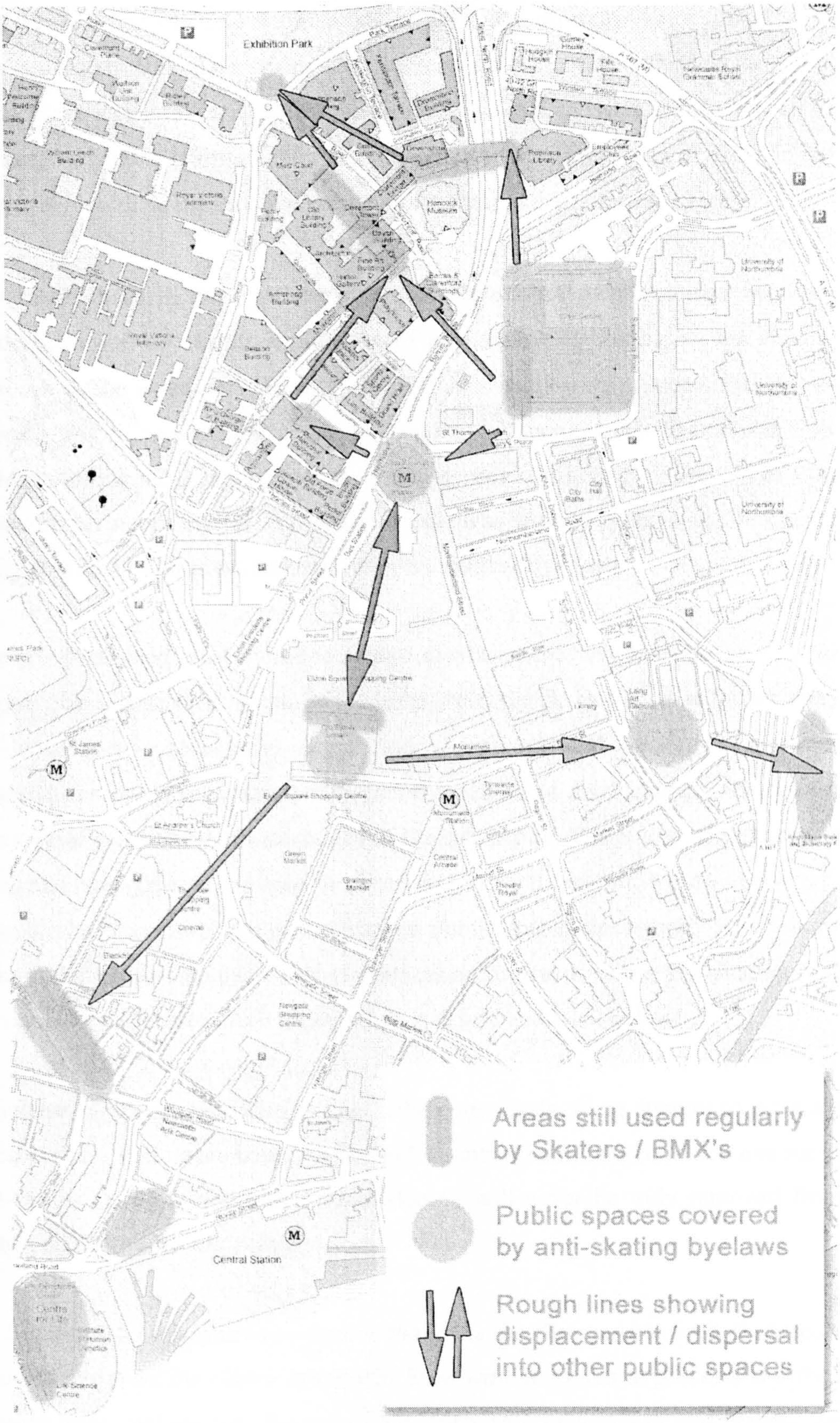


Figure 56. Map showing areas of skating activity and byelaws, suggesting potential and actual lines of displacement and dispersal created by these managerial tactics

Despite the focus of these applications at this stage on more serious disorder rather than nuisance behaviour there are increasing indications that these forms of behavioural legislation may affect other areas of urban activity. This is not to say that the range of more informal efforts to curtail activities like street skating in the city centre, across all agencies, have not met with some, albeit limited, success.

The numbers of Skaters gathering at the Haymarket memorial has been greatly reduced; in part due to the application of another bye-law affecting the area and in part due to the skate park itself. Here exclusion tactics are wedded with provision. Despite this in peak times of youth gatherings, such as the Easter and Summer holidays during the summer months, young people still gather in these areas - though in smaller numbers and for shorter times than was previously the case - and there is a consistent lack of enforcement regarding the skating bye-laws.

The group targeted most by the tactics of displacement have been the skate boarders (figure 56). A comparison can be made between the skating of specific architectures the consequent preventative legislation (bye-laws) and ancillary legislation in potential displacement areas, which create a pattern of displacement that attempts to force skate culture towards the edges of the city centre. The reality of this as a tactics of spatial management has been the overt and explicit, led to the exclusion of a group from a whole series of key pedestrianised public spaces throughout the city centre – though this is variable due to the piecemeal enforcement of the anti-skating byelaws by regulatory agencies (such as the street wardens and local police).

This was even acknowledged by the Tribe consultants, in an attempt to persuade the local council that street skating was, and is, intrinsically linked to the experience of the streets themselves and that street skating will never be truly removed from the public spaces of the city centre:

'*It is unrealistic in any area to assume that once the skate park is built, the streets will become free from the clatter of wheels. Even with measures in place, it is difficult to impose fines, and account for every step, curb, rail, or bench in and around the city centre. It is with this in mind that it is necessary not only to identify where to stop Skaters, but also where to allow them to skate.*' (Grafham 2002: 3)

The intent and significant pathways of displacement are shown in figure 56. Key areas affected by both bye-laws and exclusion tactics are the OES memorial (at the centre of this network of public space), the Civic Centre, the Blue Carpet and Haymarket; spreading across most of the larger public spaces, and covering key liminal areas, such as the Basil Hume Memorial at St Mary's cathedral and the newly pedestrianised Bath Lane.

This shows two key impacts. Firstly, that the council has taken an approach towards this activity that uses provision as a displacement tool, supported by legislative attempts to disperse activity through criminalisation of spontaneous performance – though this is surely not how the actions described above here will be seen by these actors. Secondly, that despite these attempts to disperse and displace street culture, regardless of motivation, the Tribe group were correct in their assumption that it is impossible to remove such a culture from the street where it is founded. Young people still despite the bye-laws skate on many areas. Though the central area at OES is now abandoned in favour of the periphery (where skating/riding is legal), in other areas skate damage can be seen at Blue Carpet and Skaters still congregate around the Haymarket area, though this now only occurs irregularly and in particularly hot holiday periods.

Potential Solutions: Ways Forward

There are a wide range of actions, implicit and explicit, discussed above and further attempts and opinions on what is the best way to 'manage' the 'problem' of youth in the city centre are ongoing. The two most prominent solutions proffered are now discussed here in terms of, firstly, a dedicated youth venue in the central city, and secondly, an improved communicative structure between youth and those tasked with managing both youth and the city centre itself. More creative and participatory practices are thus included here before a brief review of the empirical case study, for discussion in the final conclusions of the thesis.

Old ODEON or a Central Youth Centre

A large running theme in youth consultation, and in the interviews conducted over the course of this research has been the desire amongst young people for a place in the city centre to call their own (Thompson 2001). Some form of venue where they will be allowed to gather unmolested by the diverse other youth groups and management actors that either harass or move them on from one place to another. Though there has been little or no agreement on what form this might take. Several representatives of the council have made reference to the fact that this has been raised repeatedly through official channels such as the youth parliament with the same result time after time, as one key actor describes: '*They were told 'You can have anything you want… but not that"* '.

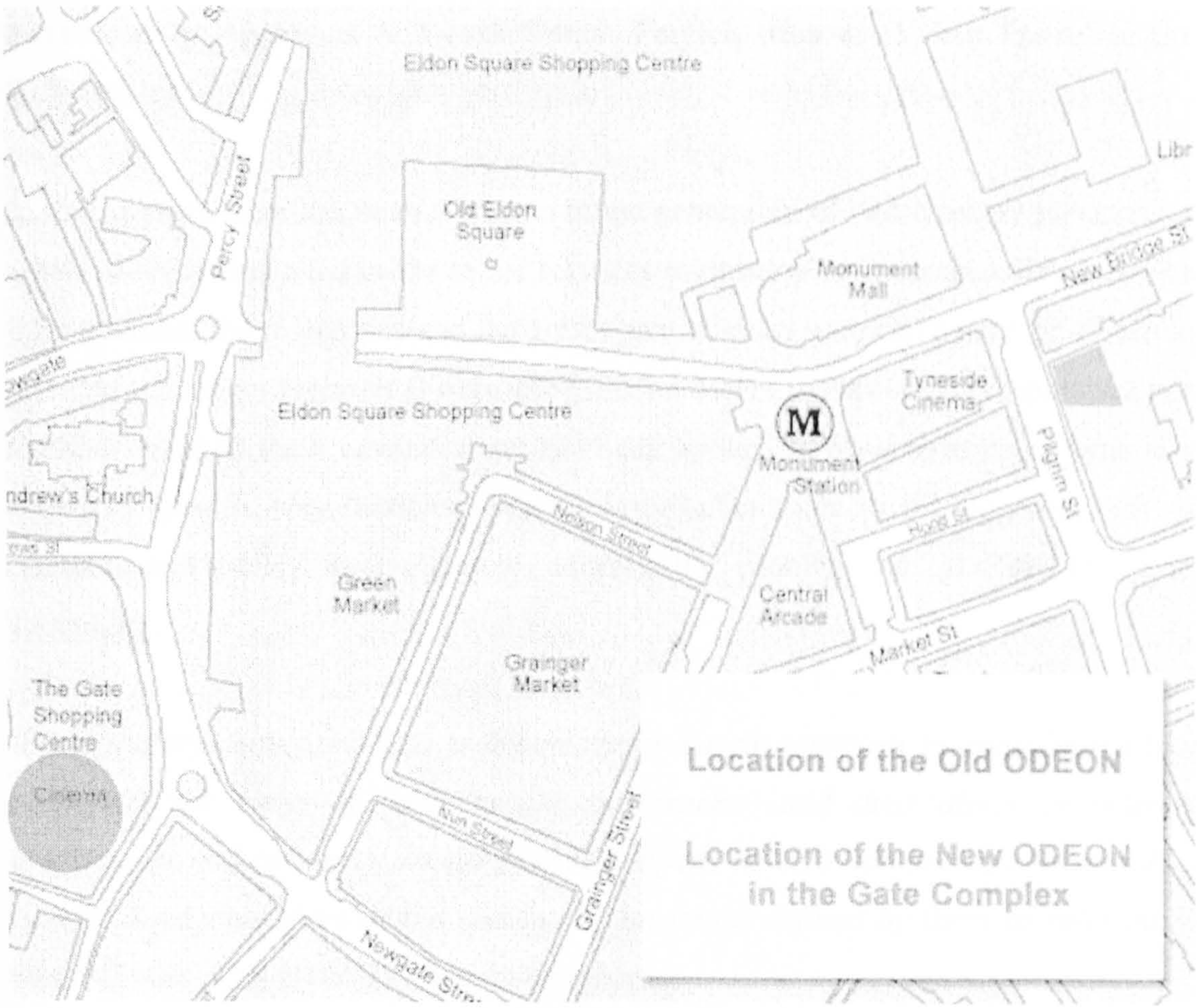


Figure 57. Location of the Old and New ODEON cinema sites in Newcastle city centre 2005

The venue returned to in many informal discussions has been that of the 'Old' Odeon Building, a cinema until the opening of the Gate complex in 2003/4, this building now stands empty. Placed at the junction of Northumberland Street and Blackett Street it lies at the nerve centre of the commercial core of Newcastle upon Tyne and has been suggested by several actors from across the spectrum of respondents interviewed in this research that it would be an ideal venue for a youth oriented development in the city centre.

This location has already been sold to private investors for an undisclosed sum and is awaiting the development of plans for its reuse at this time. It has been universally acknowledged by those from the police, council, commercial and general public that whilst this would be a worthwhile way to use the venue it is unlikely that a format for this use can be agreed upon and even less likely that it will be sanctioned (Figure 57).

Participatory Appraisal & Youth Roots: Participation & 'Youth Space' in the City Centre

In recent years there has been a growth in the generation of participatory research, as a part of a growing need in the social sciences to develop better connections between the researcher the researched and the policy practitioners who can benefit from action oriented education research (Friere 1985; Elliot 1991)[85]. Participatory appraisal is a method linked to these advances and has been applied in Newcastle upon Tyne to a series of specific consultations with minority subcultures in the ongoing shift of research and policy attempting to address the problem of 'graffiti' or 'graf' subculture:

'*Participatory Appraisal (PA) is a community-based approach to consultation that prioritises the views of local people as 'experts' and their direct or indirect involvement and action in deciding what happens in* their *community... research is carried out by members of the community on issues defined by* them *as relevant to* them' (Fuller et al. 2003: 13 - original emphasis)

This method gives local people direct access to decision-makers by bringing them into the heart of the research process and dissemination of the research into the decision-

making apparatus. Similarities can be drawn between the work of the team involved in '*Participatory Evaluation and Appraisal in Newcastle upon Tyne*' (PEANuT) - in developing participatory appraisal - and the efforts of the Heritage Lottery fund to link the '*20 years in the making*' project to the '*Hands off the green*' movement in seeking village green status for OES. Thus circumventing any significant changes to the area as a public park. Such endeavours represent the more proactive and integrated tactics for consultation beginning to emerge in the renegotiation of citizenship from the bottom-up in the light of increasingly entrepreneurial orientations in management practice.

A prime example of active youth participation can be found in the activities of the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) in Newcastle. The HLF was set up in 1994 to assist in the distribution of national lottery funds to worthy projects across the nation. The Young Roots branch within this group was awarded £24800 in 2004. The broad focus of Youth Roots is on participatory youth schemes with an emphasis on heritage, as one spokesperson said '*It's about showing young people Heritage doesn't just mean dusty museums or crumbling buildings*' (Jupp 2004).

The Newcastle project is entitled '50 Years in the making' and focuses on the last 50 years of youth activity in the OES area. The project is youth driven managed and coordinated by a team of 15 young people from the Newcastle metropolitan area who regularly use OES, these young people are responsible for the interview and employment of a youth worker who assists them in the general organisation of the project.

Interestingly the young people involved in the project can all be broadly classified as Goths (see chapter 8), there are no Charvers involved in the project, and range in age from 14 to 18 years old. When questioned about Charvers one of the project leaders (male 17 years old) suggested a reason for undertaking the project was '*to show the council and police that the problems we have with them [Chavs] are real, not just kids complaining about each other*'.

The main focus of the project, however, is in developing a network of contacts with people in Newcastle who are currently or have during their adolescence used OES for

Figure 58 A-H

A Banner of protest (INSET – Local police monitor the protest)

B, F & H – Local media capture the vents and get young people to pose for photographs

C Banner of Protest (INSET Young people storm the roof of Eldon Square Shopping Centre in protest of redevelopment plans)

D Organiser explains plans to passers by

E & G Support for the protest for the local community as people of all ages sign the petition to stop the redevelopment

passive recreation such as 'hanging out'. These individuals and groups are then to be interviewed and these interviews compiled with other archival research and filming conducted in the area to complete a DVD documentary. This documentary aims to prove that the high numbers of young people using this area is neither an exceptional nor new occurrence; also trying to show that the potential for conflict that exists between different collectives is not new either, and has a meaningful impact of the daily lived experiences of young people in the city.

This program attracted interest from the 'Hands off the Green' group, which has tried to mobilise young people in the area into a more subaltern and direct resistance to the changes proposed by the city council to the area. This has involved a range of activities, centred on direct protest and the attraction of media attention to the youth groups using the area and the significance of the changes proposed by the plans (see figure 58) – many of the details have been skimmed over in previous press coverage. The challenge facing the organisers (all from the Voluntary and Community Sector or acting as independent activists) is in the coordination of these efforts in order to satisfy the necessary criteria to claim village green status for Old Eldon Square, effectively halting the redevelopment plans targeted at OES and protecting the environment as a local heritage location. Among these criteria are the need to prove that the area has been used for lawful recreation by the general public for over 20 years and that the users are in effect encouraged to access the area for this purpose. Further developments in this area may be advanced in the after the completion of the project in 2005.

Interplay: Bringing together Concept, Lived Experience and Perception

Integrating debates around the entrepreneurial regeneration of the city, the emergence of intermediaries in the entrepreneurial mode of governance, the maintenance of social order in public space and the rights of collectively distinct youth 'tribes' to access and use public space for recreational purposes have created the understanding of interplay brought through this research. Reflecting the structure of the theoretical discussion wherever possible this chapter has addressed the specific intermediary

actors and agencies linked to the wider management of OES. These actors often emerge from unexpected places within the wider managerial structure of Newcastle city council and are frequently found to be acting creatively in their efforts to interpret the best value they are able contribute to the successful, and morally correct and inclusive, running of the city centre.

Intermediaries bridge the gaps in the practice and application of policy creatively addressing issues with a range often far beyond that of their position. This can extend from an awareness of the powerlessness experienced by young people in participation - as a broad theme in the local practice of government consultation - to the practicalities of service management inherent in the re-design of a specific space. From the 'outsiders' perspective in the voluntary and community sector these intermediaries frequently come to represent the point of contact within the council to whence one comes for a broader understanding of the representational realities created the city councils renaissance; but as the actors themselves are intermediaries by trade, circumstance or position they are frequently under-utilised by the governance machinery and are more often reduced to slipping in small thematic notions into strategic documents with variable but usually small scale success. It is important to note that this also includes a small selection of steering groups linked to specific concerns in order to give influential areas of the community a forum for their concerns. Significantly, whilst a forum exists within the city council for the veterans, and a forum exists within the police for the local traders the Youth Council as the only official forum for young people, and this is poorly integrated into the council structure. It must be noted however that this is a problem that the YPPC is aware of a having moved into senior management in 2004. A newly appointed YPPC has been developing these concerns in line with a series of consultation events targeting the integration of the Youth Council into decision-making and finding new ways of developing participation with young people who are usually approached and researched by third sector organisations on behalf of the council (9.1):

'*Young people have made a number of clear statements that they want to have a greater say in things that affect them in their immediate environments i.e. at a Ward/Neighbourhood level, they also want to be able to voice their opinions without having to commit to any formal participation structure. With this in mind young*

people have asked for more opportunities to talk with Elected Members directly.' (N.C.C 2005b)

The newly launched youth services website has been a success for all concerned and such progressive methods of integrating young people into decision-making are strong steps towards developing a more integrated youth participation system. That said this still exists within traditional rhetoric's of participation, and lacks a reflexive appraisal system at this time (see www.alreet.com). This could easily be portrayed as indicative of the disenfranchised citizenship of young people in an entrepreneurial mode of governance, in some ways show through the tongue-in-cheek assessment of the councils approach to young people in the local satirical newsletter (see Figure 40).

The key actions affecting the physical space have also been brought forth showing the clear attempts to move on and displace the youth groups from the OES area by management, ranging from explicit actions for which no agent can be found responsible - due partially to a lack of cooperation from the council on key examples such as the gravel laid at Haymarket (Figure 47) and partly to the convoluted nature of these actions when no individual actor can be held accountable - to implicit actions led by design as reflected in the earlier discussion of the conceptual redevelopment of OES in the three scheme plan and embodied by the raising of railings around the War memorial (9.2).

Finally, the dialectic contradiction of provision and exclusion are driven through observations on the interplay between management and youth in an assessment of representational lived tensions. From the implicit tactics of high visibility policing and surveillance to explicit dispersal provisions, such as the ill-fated under 18's weekend events at a local club, to explicit exclusions, in the form of anti-skating bye-laws, the broad range of tactics affecting public space in the city centre, and specifically OES, can be seen as fragmented and confused. These tactics are applied in a piecemeal manner to a complex problem with no recognisable solution:

'I'm not sure the issue is actually resolvable, because certain parties don't want the kids there at all and other parties think 'live and let live' and that the kids are an

integral part of the city centre life and should be catered for as well as everyone else is catered for and there are varying themes on that. '[86]

Perhaps the most encouraging example of explicit provision is the development of the skate-park on the edge of the city centre, however this by its very location on the periphery of the urban core can be seen as yet another attempt to relocate and displace young people from OES (9.3). The discussion of interplay has raised as many questions as it has answered, in this case uncovering some specific tensions that are in fact manageable, if managed correctly and others that seem irreconcilable in the current entrepreneurial mode of spatial production,

A Summary of Empirical Research

The preceding four chapters have tried to *first*; set the context for redevelopment of the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne and offer a broad conceptual context from which to assess the various approaches to OES, *secondly*; offer a descriptive appraisal of the specific managerial concepts and practical tactics applied to public space, with an emphasis on OES as a key example. This addresses the increased coordination of interests between civic management and the commercial sector in redevelopment affected by entrepreneurial and renaissance-driven strategies and policy. *Thirdly* this empirical research has highlighted the broad categories of young people who experience and use OES, the interplay between collectively distinct cultural groups and the importance of external perceptions *and* representations of these groups in informing both their experience of public space, and their wider participation in active citizenship, and *fourth*; to demonstrate the importance of intermediary actors in the practical development of both specific inclusions and exclusions of young people from both the hegemonic access to decision-makers (for example community consultation), and through tactics and practices of management and maintenance, from free – and democratic (see public definition, chapter 2.1) - use and access of urban public spaces.

Combining these empirical threads with the theoretical appraisal of spatial production and offering some substantive conclusions to the broader aims of this research remains the final task of this thesis.

Chapter 10.
REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This research began with the concepts of space and culture, but has been targeted towards a contribution in several areas, including but not exclusive to; the nature and understanding of urban space; the understanding and treatment of youth as a distinct social group; and development of a more critical urbanism as a response to the shifting balance of power towards commercial concerns as they increasingly underpin entrepreneurial urban governance. As such this project is relevant to a wide range of academics and practitioners across town & country planning, social policy research, applied cultural studies, social and human psychology, urban geography and both theoretical and urban sociology. Furthermore, the methodology brings together approaches which traditionally emphasise top-down structural issues of governance with research from bottom-up ethnographic perspectives which privilege the minutiae of identity and agency, thus accepting the multi-layered nature of interplay in socio-spatial production.

The narrative chronology is, thus, built upon the subsequence of the themes, these being; first, management, secondly, youth, and thirdly, interplay. This is mirrored in both the theoretically informed discussion of previous research (chapter 1 offering introductions to chapters 2-4) and the empirically grounded case study (chapter 6 offering context to chapter 7-9), allowing for the broader questions to be focussed and subsequently driven through specific empirical examples of best practice.

This concluding chapter first gives a review of key themes in both theory and research and answers the broad empirical questions developed throughout the preceding discussion. The aim here is to summarise with a concluding question in order to bring together and coordinate the thematic emphasis of the project in a review of the discussion to this point (10.1). Secondly, the empirical issues are rounded up in answer to the key questions brought forth. To conclude, a concise reflection of both the inclusive successes, and revanchist failures, of urban renaissance is offered (10.2) followed by a final

visitation to the production of space; teasing forth the emergent tensions in the production of commercial public space and highlighting directions for future research (10.3).

10.1 From Theory to Research: Discussions and Debates

The key aim of this research was to uncover connections and tensions between youth, urban management and social exclusion in order to develop a multi-layered ethnography of spatial production. In developing this narrative a range of issues and themes have given rise to a host of tensions, problems and potential solutions.

Revisiting the key themes and questions allows for substantive conclusions to be offered from within the empirical case study, but also for the potentially dystopian results of unmitigated urban entrepreneurialism on a wider scale to be addressed, offering a glimpse of opportunities for more egalitarian alternatives to this more commercially oriented mode of urban governance.

Summary of the Theoretical

The theoretical discussion brought together themes of production and management in commercial public space across urban geography and sociology by conflating definitions of the public (Zukin 1995; Goheen 1998) with socio-spatial theories of spatial production (Lefebvre 1974, 1996, 1999); offering a definition of the 'ideal' public space (2.1) before developing these theoretical assertions in a more grounded approach to urban policy. By assessing urban decline and the resultant approaches to regeneration in the city centre this theoretical grounding brought forth tensions in current policies of '*Urban Renaissance*' (D.E.T.R 1999, 2000) in the UK. This was given an additional twist by making explicit the entrepreneurialism implicit in culture-led economic strategy (Evans 2001; Miles & Paddison 2005) and the increasing ubiquity in the development of urban consumer architectures (Gottdeiner 1997; Hannigan 1998). By emphasising the similarities in the evolution of these agendas of research and regeneration the ground work was laid for an assessment of commercialisation of public space (2.2).

The history of youth research was also discussed. Interestingly, the discursive review of the theoretical foundations of youth cultural study has shown that the disenfranchisement of youth in contemporary society has been inherent in the study of youth culture since its inception. Only in recent years, as participants in youth cultures have evolved as academics, has 'insider' research (Hodkinson 2005) shown that identities can be seen as linked intrinsically to lifestyles as a central means of informing 'collective distinction' (Hodkinson 2002) allowing for a deeper understanding of what public space means to those users; connecting location and activity to perception in order to develop spatial practices *in situ* on the public street and squares of the city centre, and thus spatialising the youth 'problem' (3.1).

This body of research is often confused and devalued, in planning circles particularly. By giving this a spatial emphasis the research has been able to show how youth identities are intrinsically linked to the range of spaces they inhabit, but also how the attraction of young people to liminal territorial locations creates 'disorderly spaces' that can be seen to threaten normative adult moral landscapes (Valentine 1996; Cloke & Jones 2005), all spatial relations thus reflect this deeply ingrained tensions between the nature and perception of morality driven through complex hegemonic negotiations occurring simultaneously and progressively through and over time:

'*It is not merely a backdrop for social relations, a pre-existing terrain which frames everyday life. Rather public space is the product of [the interplay between] relations and as such space is always in the process of becoming, taking on new forms as different interests are continually interacting and struggling for influence, and so can be remade. In other words, there is no need to think of an adultist space as the natural order rather it is important to think about what needs to be done to produce socio-spatial relations differently*' (Valentine 2004: 104)

Activity is clearly central to understanding how tensions in socio-spatial relations interplay through conflicting and competing moral landscapes at specific sites. Most research into dynamic youth activities has thus focused on bodily activities such as

skating in attempts to develop more intricate patterns of 'use' and 'use-value' (Borden 2000, 2001b, 2001a) as well as linking into policy debates on provision (Freeman & Riordan 2002); or these approaches have focused on commercial and private spaces where tensions are more explicit, for example young people 'hanging out' in shopping malls (Vanderbeck & Johnson Jr. 2000). Recent work on young people has begun to assess more creatively the connections between young people and provision through assessment of childhood geographies (Aiken 2001; Valentine 2004). This work is beginning to challenge the parent child and familial connotations of childhood as a demographic. That said integrating geographies of childhood with more grounded understandings of policy debates, traditionally in transitions research (MacDonald et al. 2001), still requires young people to be treated as citizens independent from the parental designification of their rights, responsibilities and contributions to contemporary society.

This project has brought these issue to the fore addressing the tensions arising from youth 'hanging out' in public space; moving towards understanding the tensions which arise from large gathering of youths engaged in non-consumer and 'nuisance' - or '*non-criminal "unpleasant"*' (Williams & Johnstone 2000: 190), but not strictly antisocial - behaviour in the city centre. Linking back into the theoretical production of space the emphasis is placed on the importance of how youth are perceived, and thus on the relevant acceptability of young people's activities; connecting this to the nature of participation as a hegemonic project and the negotiation of access by young people to systemic decision-making (Muir 2004), or frequent lack thereof.

Central to this theoretical discussion is the wider perception of a 'normative morality' (Nolan 2003: 317) which, driven through an unspoken public consensus, is becoming more strained due to the increased diversity of opinions as to what constitutes a transgression from this normative landscape of moral acceptability in public (see chapter 3.2). The external perception of young people's collectively distinct appearances, activities and both moral and spatial use-values can be linked through the 'culture of fear' (Furedi 2002) to intimidation and the perception of danger (Pain 2000, 2001, 2003), and

at times even criminality (Doyle 1998; Kelly 2003) amongst groups or, as many see them, 'gangs' of unsupervised young people:

'*Perceptions of gangs are central to the rising public fear of crime. Young people congregating on the streets is increasingly identified, both by local residents and the media, as a cause of community degeneration. Such anxiety has stepped up expectations on frontline staff to intervene in what is, at the softer end, anti-social behaviour and, at the sharper end, is crime, violence and guns.*' (Prasad 2003)

Whilst at times the exclusion and mistrust of youth may appear to be exacerbated by releases such as this in the wider media (both print and film media have addressed this issue[1]), it is more likely that the negative media representations of youth are simply reflections of a wider parental condescension of young people in public inherent in the normative morality of the era (3.2). The links of the media in representing what should be seen as '*good spaces*' and '*good cities*' (McCann 2004) has begun to become a part of research into the connective interplay between cities - as '*interurban competition*' - and also linking into quality of life as a discourse within the popular media in contributing to the creation of socially exclusive '*narratives of prosperity*' to which not all cities may fit (ibid. 2004: 1926), this can be linked into wider concerns of homogenisation of central urban space and emerging discussions of 'Clone Cities' (Geoghegan 2005).

To make this explicit in realising the tensions between the homogenising influence of entrepreneurialism and the apparent anti-sociability of young people in this urban environment it is only necessary to connect this debate with work on 'disordered' space, in which Cloke and Jones point out that the entire city is in fact engineered for and targeted towards adults rather than children:.

'*Thus, the shaping and patterning of environments, from domestic dwellings to entire cities, is mostly designed to meet adult requirements and ergonomics...Raising children adds rhythm and practice to these architectures, representing a process of continuous induction into the precedents, codes and systems of adult order. Such induction relates to*

control of embodied process, and training of 'appropriate' action and reaction, and encoding of what is 'in place' in particular spaces at particular times' (Cloke & Jones 2005: 315)

From Theory to Practice: Theorising Interplay

These threads – defining the public, management (as control and supply of the public, and youth culture (as users and perceptions of) – have been connected through the notion of interplay. The emphasis of management has been driven through the rhetoric inherent in policy towards; improving strategic planning; developing partnership - easing the financial burden on the state whilst improving investment of the private sector in the community - and significant redevelopment of the local on a regional and global territorial agenda - linking with new partnership driven pseudo-public institutions of urban management at the local level, such as City Centre Management. Commercial intermediaries, such as CCM, are able to push the agenda of commercial stakeholders within civic governance legitimately, with realisable impacts on the conceptual form of strategic policy, particularly in this tightly bound commercial central area. These entrepreneurial concerns have clearly become more central to the management of the city centre than the diversity of users, and uses, inherent in the wider public citizenry – pitched here as a fragmented demography of desirable and undesirable consumer niche markets.

Recent urban policy argues that more realisable urban renaissance does occur through the privileging of commercial concerns as the environments are improved and streets kept to a higher standard in these commercial districts. This in turn stimulates more attempts to encourage partnership-led governance and moves the conceptual spaces of management further away from the democratic to economic imperatives as these begin to underpin wider structures of urban governance strategy and policy as well as affecting the form of local culture-led regeneration. The interests of commercial stakeholders are driven through these commercial intermediaries and thus integrated into policy more inclusively than the 'difficult to analyse' views of the wider public citizenry.

It is argued here that existing practices of participation implicitly enforce a legitimation of the '*regime of accumulation*' (Jessop 1997b, 1997c) embedded within cultural entrepreneurialism through a range of hegemonic negotiations (Cooper 1998; Muir 2004). Several of these are manifest in new managerial intermediaries emerging from stake-holder partnerships, and changes to the wider managerial structure of governance associated with New Labours 'Urban Renaissance' (Holden & Iveson 2003). These are used to equate cultural-led renaissance with economic growth and suggest that this 'community' approach will engender 'knock-on' improvements in the 'quality of urban life', though little evidence exists empirically to prove that urban renaissance actually delivers what the rhetoric posits it can achieve (Kearns 2003: 60; Evans 2005). The spatial practice of managerial subgroups can thus be presented as the primary lens through which manifest methods of demographic selection and exclusion operate, implicitly linked to a reflexive alteration of the morality underpinning notions of acceptability in representations of space. Though this systemic conflation of perception and the processes by which 'added-value' is extracted from public space seems to function as a key aspect of how conceptual space is redefined towards a consumer oriented pseudo-public set of prescribed use-values.

The shift towards a commercially-driven entrepreneurial mode of governance, and thus towards commercial pseudo-public spaces, is in a way balanced with civic concerns through the activities of third sector and charitable organisations who engage as intermediaries of a different nature. These groups often act as 'experts' in the field of youth, working as external consultants for local managerial subgroups consultation exercises bring forth specific local tensions in the structure and process of government bureaucracy at the local level of day-to-day street life[2]. These groups at times appear to encourage subalternity amongst youth groups through engaging the political motivation of the minorities around issues central to their lived experiences; though the realisable impact of this cannot be fully understood without further research into the tensions between active and passive use and unpacking further the concept of resistance. These top-down consultation practices are the standard form of hegemonic negotiation at this

level of governance. As such the views and opinions garnered from such endeavour are often related back to officials and commercial agents, feeding into steering groups and panels, where they become subsumed by the emphasis on entrepreneurial renaissance as the central driver of strategic planning.

The final step in setting up this empirical research was to show the potential impacts of these changes to management structure and method, developed as subtle but recognisable shifts in notions of participation and access, but also the socio-spatial processes of governance, within the normative production of space. By reflecting upon research into surveillance and the regulation of urban space in the city (Hebdige 1983; Cuthbert 1995; Norris & Armstrong 1999; Flusty 2001; Coleman 2004a, 2004b; Klauser 2004), and particularly in pseudo public commercial environments (Shields 1989; Jackson 1998; McCahill 2000, 2003) the tensions in rights of access and the perceptions of activity have been linked to changes in the acceptability of abstract and differential moralities as they occur dynamically through lived experiences of representational spaces. Furthermore these links help to develop the shifting conceptual paradigms from management towards entrepreneurialism. Simply put, there are increasingly clearly demarcated boundaries to acceptable lifestyles and activities within the prescriptive vision of how the city centre *should be* used, compared with how it *is* used, in the light of a new rhetoric of urban renaissance[3].

A key theme within this research has been to develop an understanding of the way in which tensions are apparent between the commercial concept of space, the lived-reality of use for youth groups and the wider perception of both these elements of spatial production in practice; underpinned and in fact driven by the refined definition of 'public space' itself. This is reflected upon here through the separation of conceptual spatial representations of managers - as strategic policy and tactical practices - from the lived representational spaces - as creative reappropriations and 'Other' use-values - of youth in situ.

Summary of the Empirical

The sheer breadth of this interdisciplinary project demands that a tighter empirical focus is garnered for the success of any substantive research. Chapters 5 & 6 form this lens by discussing first, the methodology, and secondly, the context of the research in Newcastle upon Tyne. Building on the history of regeneration in the city (6.1) and the broad definition of four key conceptual approaches to OES (6.2) - as a public space, a commercial space, a sacred space and a locus of transit - a focus on the general conceptual strategies affecting *all* public spaces was linked to key actors in the management of OES (7.1). From the empirical base (in chapter 5 & 6), and the theoretical production of space combined, focused research questions brought forth:

- **What** differences are there between the concepts and perceptions of urban public space held by (city council / police) managerial institutions, (city centre) businesses and the (alternative youth) subcultural minorities?

- **How** do these differences manifest in both the *production & maintenance* of lived experience in urban public space?

The research has shown that there is a distinct separation of a conceptually driven entrepreneurial vision of culture for the city centre from the lived realities of young people, largely driven by shifting perceptions linked to the contemporary understanding of childhood and youth in public space; this is implicitly enforced by the layering of hegemony in processes of both design and participation. These processes underpin the realisation of the conceptual goals of managers as applied to public space. These concepts are developed in strategic planning and implemented through regeneration policies and through spatial control tactics on location. As such this change in governance away from a citizen centred approach to an economic understanding of managerial performance affects not only the strategic level of design and planning, but it also implicitly alters the definitions, and thus legislation, of what is considered appropriate, orderly and/or anti-social in public; thus linking the tactical maintenance of public order - and also

hegemony as the process of enacting participation for minorities - to broader issues of civil liberty and citizenship.

The managerial concept of public space is laid out in the broad strategic documents prepared as a part of the improvements in governance recommended by the Urban Task Force Report '*Towards and Urban Renaissance*' and the subsequent Urban White Paper (D.E.T.R 1999, 2000) (2.2). These strategies are linked to the need to improve consumer confidence in the city centre as a location for a range of activities - from the large scale business to the local resident. Policies and tactics of regeneration are thus centred on attracting specific demographics of investors, consumers and residents back into the urban core from the suburbs and increasing the economic growth of the city through this medium. Using the broad conceptual definitions of public space developed earlier (see chapter 6) it was clear that in managerial representations of OES it is first and foremost a strategic 'public' space, but one fulfilling specific roles for the cultural economy as the locus of transit into the commercial centre, the commercial thoroughfare from North to South - as shopping 'zones' - and due to the War Memorial, a key tourist location - as represented in the '*City Centre Action Plan*' (CCAP) and '*Parks & Green Spaces Strategy*' (PGSS) (N.C.C 2003; Porter 2004; N.C.C 2005).

The responses to urban decline in entrepreneurial and design-led strategic policy this creates appear to engender socially exclusive tactics for the management of public activity, thus enforcing a prescriptive, commercially driven 'single-minded' (Cooper 1998) concept of public use-value through the regeneration of public space. This is underpinned by the view, rather than experience, of public space as embodying a commercially-driven 'singular-use' that does not engage with the diversity of 'mix-use' amenity public spaces. This diverse understanding of how spaces can be used is further alluded to in local interpretations of spatial typology (see for example N.C.C 2005) but is not realised in the practices and outcomes of regeneration. In this way public space in the city centre is represented as an adjunct to commercial space and becomes a series of thoroughfares between commercial locations or 'anchors'[4] or as containers for activities

Figure 59 A-C. clockwise from top left.

A & C Example of commercial public space exhibition at Haymarket – July 2005

B – Newcastle city council advertising local events through distribution of Citylife & other advertising materials – July 2005

promoting further consumer activity in the form of extracting added value from public space - seen in the activities of new managerial institutions, such as CCM (7.2).

An example of this can be seen in the 'rental' of public spaces to commercial agencies for advertising purposes by CCM (see figure 59); implicitly facilitated by the renegotiation of anti-social behaviour and the perception of 'other' activities - often but not exclusive to the media and key interest groups (see chapter 7). This creates a scenario where maximisation of the extraction of 'added-value' from public space is legitimated through redefinitions of normative public morality in the media and in legislative policies affecting and defining appropriate use - such as anti-skating bye-laws. Activities not meant for public space, such as commercial advertisement, at once both subsume and elide more public expressions and performances of young people, which inconvenience the flow of capital and the extraction of 'added-value'. This further reflects the perception of youth in both strategy and policy as a problematic demographic rather than as an excluded minority, with associated tactics for their displacement and/or dispersal from areas where their presence creates a problem in the prescriptive conceived managerial representations of space (chapter 9).

Youth activities have been discussed at times throughout this research in terms of differential spaces and performative use-values, and in this context the tensions between different youth groups, the importance of consumer identities to both individual and group behaviour and cultural values have been brought forth (8.1). Collectively distinct cultural demography's of youth can be called tribes, but this seems to only add to the perception of young people as a distinct 'Other' in practice, making youth seem more distinct and separate than they are in practice. In order to use such terminology all social groups much be distinguished as distinct collectives comprised of individuals with specific normative values, and that these values must be as flexible in spatial practice as the various mental and social contexts in which the individual may be found. By this rationale depending on the context of the situation at any given time an individual may have conflicting and distinct views of a given subject or space or group, and act in the terms of the role they hold within that social context, i.e. a policeman might have to move

on a group of young Goths from an area where others may be intimidated by their presence during the day, and yet wear make-up and go out clubbing in leather trousers and black garments at night – this is only a swift temporal representation of how these contexts may change but it is vivid nonetheless. It is representational context of the individual at the pivotal moment of 'reactive-perception' that defines the collective distinctions with which the individual is able to engage - or *chooses* to engage with - thus making the understanding of appropriateness applied to each perceived action, as it is encountered, an action in its own right. These actions are then taken by each *individual* agent in a reflexive transition through and over time as each moment moves into the next – thus creating the multi-layered oscillation of distinct normative moral landscapes for each individual *and* collective during the process of spatial production.

This representational emphasis places lifestyle central to the negotiation of spatial production by collectively distinct individuals *and* groups. Youth identity, and lifestyle, has been presented as engaging with, and sometimes dominating, differential understandings public spaces *in situ*. When young people appear to be perceived as being informed by values and norms of expression that deviate or transgress the normative adult moral code - as perceived by other key actors - then they become perceived as an 'Other' group (8.2). This otherness promotes a context of distrust reinforced by the dystopian contextual history of the urban public (Merrifeild 2000; Baeten 2002) and the normative morality of institutionalised mistrust that is embedded in the treatment of young people (Kelly 2003).

The local traders and general public have a variety of views on youth which are wide ranging and specific to their own interests - such as access to the stores for the specific consumer demographics targeted by their services. Managerial perceptions of youth are created through a combination of these factors with information garnered from the activities of intermediaries (often with limited power within the council) - such as the Young Peoples Participation Coordinator (YPPC), the Ward councillors and individual officers *or* developed from traditional format of consultation, typically franchised out to Voluntary and Community Sector organisations in the locality. There is a general lack of

any inherent knowledge or ground level interaction or knowledge of youth groups within civic management and a lack of interest in the commercial sector from more powerful stakeholders - such as Capitol Shopping Centres (CSC).

From the level of maintenance and on the street interaction with young people the police and the general public have a balanced view that young people can be and are at times a perceived threat to people that can on occasion be realised in a criminal act. However this is defined by the individual situation and is not a blanket treatment of youth, as such young people must be given rights to assembly in public. They are subject to close observation which functions at once both as a means of protecting young people and reinforcing the perception of authority when youth gather autonomously away from parental (or other authoritarian) restraints on activity. Young people do tread much closer than other groups to the line at which *play* becomes *nuisance* and *nuisance* becomes *undesirable*, thence they are increasingly conflated with *anti-social* behaviour; though the full impact of changes to this emergent legislation have not yet been developed in research.

To say that in terms of participation, young people in decision-making about the direction of regeneration and the form of provision have no impact on changing the form and process of governance would be inaccurate. Attempts *have* been made to include youth on behalf of managerial actors and agencies. However, the economics of provision are only engaged with when they fit with a wider strategy of relocation (representing displacement and dispersal combined) linked implicitly to the overview of networked public spatial use-value(s) developed thematically in strategic policies such as the CCAP.

Thus all the pressures, practices and provisions encountered by young people from management and security organisations coalesce - specifically those tasked with ensuring that the space realises its commercial and competitive potential. Through the implicit differences between the ongoing testing of social and moral boundaries inherent in the youth transitions into adulthood - embodied and performed in increasingly commercial public space - youth subcultures in the city centre are more and more often conflated with

rhetoric's of social disorder in the local media – supported by national rhetorical panics over disintegration of morality in youth culture seen in the 'chavalanche' (O'Farrel 2005) and 'satanic panic' (Jenkins & Maierkatkin 1992; deYoung 1998; Victor 1998) rhetoric's. This is not to attribute a hypodermic model of media influence in any way but it does represent the dominant (mis)representations of youth use-values and lifestyles which underpin the perception of activity as it is performed in public space.

Increasingly the paradigm shift from urban management to an entrepreneurial mode of governance (Harvey 1989) blur the distinctions between public and private underpinning the conceptual representations of public space (Cuthbert 1995; Defilippis 1997; Clarke & Bradford 1998; Madanipour 2003). As such the principles of acceptability generated in strategic entrepreneurialism - linking to the shifts in wider social and moral consciousness - reflect how the wider public - as participating citizens - perceive public activity reflexively, thus the fear of difference implicitly serves the entrepreneurial redefinition of public activity. This 'revanchism' (Smith 1996; MacLeod 2002) is useful in the sense that it distinguishes a different form of regenerative exclusion, distinct and subtly different from explicit forms of 'gentrification' discussed in other research (Atkinson 2000; Hackworth & Smith 2000; Lees 2000; Phillips 2002; Slater 2002; Smith 2002; Visser 2002; Cameron 2003). The entrepreneurial mode of spatial production is in fact an *implicit* system of redefinition by which the displacement and dispersal of youth into other areas is made one of a wider framework of legitimate exclusions. Thus the perceived urban dangers and disorder are dispersed rather than tackled, and specific problems at the roots of social exclusion lose their importance as central drivers of urban renaissance policy, simultaneously attempts to reinvigorate the culture of the locality attempt to inspire local inhabitants to take pride in the city itself (see Evans 2005; Miles 2005 - also see CCM in chapter 7.2)[5] but do not target the specific needs of the local populous, but focus on performance indicators predicated on economic rather than social considerations.

From Practice to Analysis: Researching the Interplay

In the assessment of how these factors; the adult domination of hegemony and of conceptual space; the entrepreneurial privileging of economic over social citizenship; the restrictive normative morality fuelled by moral panics; the institutionalised mistrust of youth and resultant exclusion of youth from spaces of citizenship; and the conflict between research paradigms affecting youth research; to name but a few of the tensions raised in this debate - create a system of interplay operating at various levels it has become clear that there are mechanisms in place which attempt to include and provide for different demographics, such as young people. There are also clear and broad, yet distinct, differences between the representations of space, representational spaces and spatial practices of each group (table 18); however, these are not fully developed in the urban renaissance rhetoric policy or guidelines. These guidelines tend to reproduce existing, and flawed, methods of youth participation in linear structures with little in real impact emerging from youth citizenship at local, regional and national levels.

Neither are young people fully engaged at the most local levels by the managerial institutions in the light of tensions with more desirable demographics of consumers. In this sense the manner in which tensions are addressed is often piecemeal lip-service consultation that reifies the intended conceptual design. In the case of OES young people as a dominant user demographic appear to have been strategically excluded from the main body of consultation, and targeted instead as an isolated group with completely different needs to those of the wider citizenry. Whilst this view suggests that young people were in fact privileged above other demographics the tone and intent of consultation was driven from a managerial desire to displace and disperse the problem of youth from the OES area, though the intent here has been made clear that young people were to be given alternative venues in which to gather wherever possible, thus the displacement was designed to engage young people through provision. However, in the light of subsequent tactics - such as the erection of railings, the scattering of gravel at Haymarket and comprehensive attempts to ban skating in strategic areas – other methods for the dispersal of youth are clearly intended to exclude.

Theoretical Approaches / Subgroup	**Representations of Space** *Concept of OES*	**Representational Spaces** *OES as Lived Space*	**Spatial Practice** *Reactive Perceptions in OES*
Newcastle City Council **NCC**	1. Safe, Accessible, Clean space. 2. War Memorial 3. Locus of Transport Fulfilling wider agenda of place-marketing and strategic promotion of Newcastle city centre as retail and leisure location.	Area for cultural / economic regeneration **USE-VALUE** – Fragmented (driven by practicalities of Commercial aesthetics – *see Concept*)	Sees **Small Businesses** as confused and difficult to cater for but with valid concerns. Sees **YOUTH** as problematic for the development of concept Sees **Big Businesses** as stakeholder partners / investors. Sees **Police** as key link to small business and responsible and able managers of social order *in situ*.
BUSINESS **Big / Small**	1. Safe, Accessible, Clean space. 2. War Memorial / Cenotaph Youth as not appropriate in either context	Workplace & site of daily business **USE-VALUE** – Commercial public (emphases on the orderly flow of commerce)	SB: Sees **NCC** as unsympathetic and money oriented BB: Sees **NCC** as partner in shopping, (this has no impact on OES)✪ Sees **YOUTH** as Problematic, disorderly and unwelcome. See **Police** as responsible for management of the issue.
YOUTH MINORITIES **Goths / Skaters** ✸	1. Public/open space	Gathering for socialising, play or leisure **USE-VALUE** – Recreational and social leisure pursuits (e.g. hanging out, skating, horse play etc)	Sees **NCC** as face of capitalism / No opinion Sees **ALL Business** as unwarranted complainers, antagonistic awareness See **Police** as welcome agents of security / more negatively as force responsible for exclusion.
NORTHUMBRIA POLICE	1. Public, open space. 2. War Memorial	Workplace, responsive to users **USE-VALUE** - All users wishing to use it have the right to as long as they do not transgress the law (i.e. inconvenience causing significant discomfort to other users – disorder rather than anti-social behaviour takes precedence)	Sees **NCC** as slow to respond to people's needs and confused in methods of which to do so. Sees **YOUTH** as inconvenient but legal users of space, technically nothing wrong. Sees **Small Businesses** as confused and difficult to cater for but with valid concerns*

Table 18. Summary of tensions in spatial production on Old Eldon Square

*No opinion was discussed regarding Big Business in the city.

✪ BB = Big Business, SB = Small Business

✸ Goths and skaters only as charvers as a majority chose not to be interviewed: Data collected on them is limited to their stylistic identities.

As suggested above, 'play' often becomes increasingly inconvenient, and thus undesirable, being seen as a nuisance. As such it is increasingly anecdotally conflated with rhetoric's of the anti-social in public, implicitly following the paradigm shift in both managerial strategy and tactics as well as in public morality. Managerial perceptions of youth groups see young people increasingly as problematic demography's in the sustainability of culture-led economic renaissance or as a group devoid of a political voice to be catered for prescriptively, not to be listened to or included in citizenship in any practical or meaningful way. As such, management policy and tactics, media representations and wider public perceptions thus combine to create a systemic institutionalised mistrust of youth that is reflected in their role as citizens (Kelly 2003). The selective exclusion of young people from the consultation relating to OES; the targeted displacement of specific activities through selective provision strategies – such as the successful skate park development (see figure 59) and afternoon 'club'

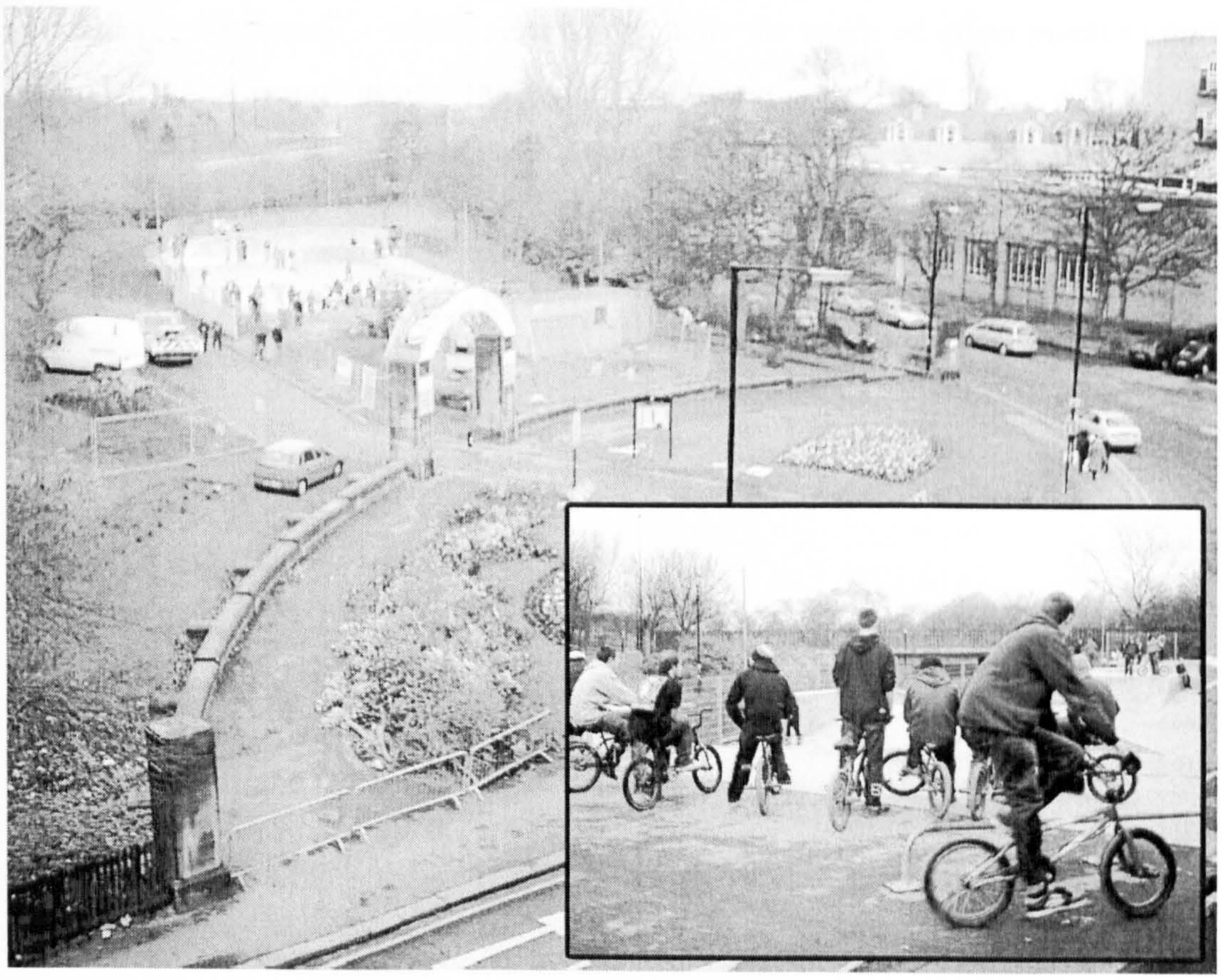


Figure 60. Skate park in exhibition park

events (9.3) - and explicit actions, ranging from legislation through bye-laws to the spreading of gravel (9.2) – which are often not traceable to a specific agent or actor, thus eliding accountability for explicit displacement tactics within a wider strategic institutional framework of implicit dispersal – can be seen as examples of this rolled out in practice in the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne. It is clear that as entrepreneurialism is extended across urban governance that young people are excluded from both the practice of citizenship and increasingly from public space through such attempts to 'design out' difference (White 1996).

This summary of the research brings forth some salient points from the empirical data and has begun to develop the theoretical and empirical research which will be brought back together in the subsequent discussion. Remaining answers can be teased from this research to develop the remaining issues, particularly, how urban renaissance can begin to ensure the protection of the democratic rights of young people - through a negotiated participatory hegemony – which aims to reconcile the needs of urban youth in the city centre with the imperatives of commercial urban regeneration.

10.2 Real Impacts on the Use of Commercial Space

The above discussion summarises the key theoretical issues (10.1) and developed the questions that have become salient to the resolution of this research, answering the broader thematic issues to come forth from the empirical body of work (10.2). The research suggests that the expectation in local management - i.e. Newcastle city council and stakeholder partners - was that, given another venue as a location for gathering then the rest of the young people, around which the perceived problems coalesce, would also move to that area. Old Eldon Square (OES) would thus be less dominated by the presence of youth, allowing the regenerative efforts to reintegrate the square back into the commercial city centre as a mixed-use commercial thoroughfare and a family recreational leisure space with a memorial centrepiece with which to market its spatial identity. The situation to have emerged has proved that this exclusionary conceptual redefinition of the area has not affected youth use as much as was expected, in fact young people still gather around OES in large numbers, though this tends to be less frequent and more weather dependant than previously. There is also no guarantee that this will remain the case when the second and third stages of the bus concourse redevelopment hit full stride in the autumn of 2005, though this is now a question for future research.

The following section is a round up of empirical issues brought forth in the theoretical discussion of previous research (chapter 2-4). First the role of intermediaries from an entrepreneurial perspective are addressed, linking the City Centre Management initiative to emergent strategies of Business Improvement Districts at both the local scale, through the case study, and to the larger policy framework in the UK. Secondly the issues of displacement and dispersal brought forth thus linking the discussion of interplay back to the wider implications of how youth are perceived. In the third section this is connected to the evolution and importance of systems of spatial control, referring specifically to the body of research on surveillance and anti-social behaviour. Finally, the wider theoretical issues of participation and hegemony are linked to the exclusion of youth, particularly from the production of conceptual space, as a part of the wider significant changes to governance as it becomes ever more entrepreneurial.

City Centre Management, Business Investment Districts & the Future of Governance

In chapter 2 some wider implications of entrepreneurial changes to the nature and direction of strategy were highlighted. This has particular bearing for the 'knock-on' effects of the paradigm shift towards entrepreneurialism and the significant role of stake-holder partnership in urban management. Through the discussion of interplay (chapter 4) these concerns were grounded in the emergence of new managerial institutions as key intermediaries between commercial and civic government. These particular subgroups are often the point from whence entrepreneurial strategies emerge, through subgroups like City Centre Management (CCM), leading often to the raised interest and application of commercially driven tactics, such as Business Investment Districts (BIDs).

From early on in the case study of Newcastle upon Tyne, BIDs were also expected to be important to this ongoing research; however, as the research progressed it became quickly clear that CCM was not entrenched enough in the local system of governance to deploy these without extensive consultation. Also the development of BIDs is seen as a CCM initiative, not linked into the wider strategic administration of the city centre through the City Centre Panel:

'*I think from my group a possible BIDs concept will develop it certainly won't develop out of the City Centre Panel that's a totally different animal altogether, they're looking at more strategic aspects of the city centre as opposed to me looking at the housekeeping of the city centre. Is it clean? Is it safe?*'[6]

CCM is presented here as having a specific remit with which to engage and a narrow understanding of how to achieve sustainable results. This is significant because by generating actions on these specific interests, such as tightly bounded notions of cleanliness and safety, there is little or no reference to wider implications of the changes enacted by CCM beyond the achievement of an increased flow of capital and sustenance

of investment from stakeholder partners – this essentially creates a self serving and civically unaccountable institution of spatial privatisation.

The consultation of what is needed as conducted by CCM will thus implicitly – by the very nature of the institution as privately funded - privilege the needs and wants of its stakeholders and partners ignoring civic responsibility to the less powerful minorities. CCM thus has little or no contact with minority groups such as the Skaters, Goths and Charvers and no accountability to ensure their inclusion in either space or the processes of hegemonic democracy. In this respect youth is 'not the problem' of CCM, and it is assumed that the needs of these groups are being catered for elsewhere. Some subtle environmental changes and managerial shifts in the administration and maintenance of the public spaces in the city centre are allowed to happen when they may no suit the needs of all concerned. Nor is such exclusion exclusive to young people as a subgroup of the wider citizenry.

Local Traders demonstrated a lack of enthusiasm towards BIDs. These were seen as a costly disguise for raising rates. CCM in turn has invested little in negotiation with smaller traders:

'*See that's another bone of contention are we getting value for money for rates or is it just another gravy train that they rake in with no accountability*'[7]

A campaign to raise awareness of the potential benefits has been discussed and overtures have been made but the likelihood of motivating the local traders to get behind BIDs as a new initiative in urban management is still seen by many as extremely difficult. Plans exist to develop and implement these schemes in Newcastle but due in part to; the redifferentiation of ward boundaries, the need to assess where and how they could be developed and implemented without creating exclusion areas and fringe or liminal spaces outside of the boundaries of BIDs, and the problems with generating popular support, they have not yet been fully developed or implemented in the city centre in Newcastle[8].

Despite this BIDs are seen as the most likely progression, in terms of entrepreneurial or commercial tactics, for improving the city centre in many cities throughout Britain. Pilot BID schemes have been developed in 22 British towns and cities at different scales in order to test the applicability of the strategy, all of which push a city centre development agenda focussing on variations of '*highly developed level[s] of partnership working between major landowners/developers, the local authority and other agencies*' and generating a '*climate of ongoing investment and economic growth – visible across all sectors – nurtured by entrepreneural spirit, dynamic and forward thinking leadership, and a "can do" attitude*' (Willott 2005)[9].

The working guidelines on BIDs used by such initiatives appear to actively *encourage* the demographic classification of key users. Access as an issue appears only in the light of transport and parking, and the '*health*' and '*benefits*' of the BID are termed through retail issues - vacancy, performance and sales - commercial issues - such as footfalls, tourist and evening economy – and access - through transport and the perception of safety and security (O.D.P.M 2001a: 27-28). The position of 'collectively distinct' subgroups as citizens and diverse access or activities in public space are not central to this entrepreneurial agenda for urban development and regeneration - as shown by Reeve (1996 - see chapter 4) - which in the light of this research raises serious questions about the direction and form of urban governance in the future.

Further, the operation of BIDs require a manager (O.D.P.M 2001a: 26), who is independent from civic government but linked in partnership to both the property developers or owners, local businesses and key stakeholders. It is likely that City Centre Managers will take a lead role in the orientation of BIDs thus increasing the likelihood that commercial interests will continue to dominate the pseudo-private use-values implicit in the strategic redevelopment of the affected area, often in the city centre, and thus create more privatised and commercial public spaces.

BIDs are still the most likely tool of urban renewal to be expanded wholesale throughout the towns and cities of the UK (Lepper 2004) and are seen as a part of the wider

implementation of an urban renaissance (O.D.P.M 2001a: 7). The emphases of BIDs are unmistakeably on economic growth and improving the flow of capital through the area in question whilst ensuring a quality of consumption for valid demographics.

This clearly suggests that targeted consultation must be cast much wider, and developed in partnership with local *nous*, will aid in the development of a more meaningful and representative level of participation. Major problems remain the agreement of financial contributions (thus far in the form of levy's) and tensions between perceived and real benefits to the local architecture and environment, which must go beyond the need for safer city centres (Oc & Tiesdell 1997c, 1997a, 1997d, 1997e, 1997b)[10].

A part of the BIDs guidelines do refer to good practice and community but in the same way as this research has shown, voluntary and community sector agencies are used through consultation as civic intermediaries and only mentioned in strategy in brief – as having common-sense locally specific *nous*. The public are noted as a group to be consulted but generally through existing participatory methods - such as the voluntary and community sector agencies as mentioned above - or through a lip-service token membership on the steering group for the BID where they will have little power compared to the array of commercial actors and agencies whose interests are central to the successful motivation of sustainable investment in any BID scheme.

Future research will have to clarify the stratification of the general public and the commercial actors in the operation of such entrepreneurial governance as it occurs. There may be a privileging of larger chains and franchises over local traders in these schemes; further research will be able to uncover what sense of commercial equality underpins the operation of BIDs as they become more commonplace in our towns and cities.

Displacement & Dispersal in Networked Public Spaces

Connecting the specifics of the case study to wider paradigm shifts in urban management can be achieved, but not holistically, as it would be a mistake to attempt to uncritically transcribe this research onto other local cases. However, some broad similarities can be illuminated through this research as a herald of trends in social and spatial exclusion that are beginning to develop within the structure and form of entrepreneurial governance in practice. In this case the tendencies of the strategy and tactics of management, emerging from within new forms of local legislation – through anti-social behaviour legislation and new commercially oriented management systems like BIDs - to implicitly create a system of dispersal and displacement (9.3), though often without any clearly visible *intent* to exclude that can be linked to a specific actor or agency. This has been returned to consistently as a significant impact of urban renaissance strategy in the case study of Newcastle upon Tyne.

The willingness to redesign public space in the city centre to fit with marketable recreational uses, as implicitly privileged by urban renaissance strategy (Holden & Iveson 2003), results in an environment that implicitly attempts to push collectively distinct minorities out of an area. The focus of regeneration on the reintegration of liminal and marginal spaces into the dominant commercial concept of the city centre challenges the very nature of youths spatial identity, as attracted to disorderly margins of urban space (Cloke & Jones 2005) – any liminal city centre space where young people gather in numbers is thus threatened by the need to increase the footfall of 'normal' customers[11]. This is manifest in the hope that the Goths will leave when more consumers move through the location, then the Charvers who harass them will also follow to where ever the Goths relocate to freeing the space for the extraction of added-value and an improved flow to commerce. This in itself improves the appearance of economic growth and highlights the performance indicators used to chart the success of improvements to the urban architecture through renaissance-led strategy.

This implicitly hegemonic exclusion does not solve the 'problem of youth' it simply moves the tensions to another area; one where it does not interfere with the aesthetic regeneration of public space, the place-marketing of the city or the wider commercial emphasis of use-value in the city centre. As discussed (9.3) this leads to a system of displacement and dispersal of legitimate public 'users' from the free expression of activity and identity in the commercialised public spaces of the city centre.

Following the wider national application of both implicit site-specific tactics and wider explicit actions, such as ASBOs, in town and city centres, and relative reaction in the civil rights movements[12], the tensions between exclusion and provision have become more central to the debate over youth policy in governance and particularly to the perception of young people in public.

It has been proven, in the European Court of Human Rights in 2002, that owners and managers of private spaces can dictate the rules of conduct, and even dress, within the boundaries of spatial ownership. This case in Washington in the North East of England – near Newcastle – showed that the privately owned space was within its rights to constrain activities that they felt were a negative influence on the flow of commercial activity through their commercial space (Anon 2002). This is not isolated as more an more constraints are placed upon acceptability of specific behaviours in commercial areas, largely linked to private malls and commercial spaces. This is the case with the Eldon Square Shopping Mall in the city centre, bordering OES (see figure 21 - 7.2). Even individual stores now have the right to enforce behavioural guidelines and dress codes (see below).

In relation to partnership managed public spaces this raises difficult tensions. As the public space, there can be no constraints legally placed on such issues as subcultural dress, be it hooded tops of the latest public moral panic[13]. However if such initiatives as BIDs are to become commonplace then the public spaces begin to take on pseudo-private management structures and increasing regulation of activity is inevitable, whether or not

the general public will support aesthetic distinctions of appropriateness as they emerge in tactical operation of the wider public environment remains to be seen.

Evolving CCTV policies & systems

In this research CCTV has been discussed primarily as a reactive policing strategy supported by proactive 'beat' patrolling of the city centre, with a view to increasing confidence of consumers - and other users - that an area is safe and discouraging crime through maintaining a visible police presence, as well as having roving officers on hand should any disorder occur.

The emphasis of policing is more inclusive than most regeneration policy emphasising protection rather than movement or exclusion, several police officers remarked that the council and local traders had suggested the police '*should do more*' to remove the '*perceived threat*' of youth, but they preferred to deal with '*the reality of crime rather than over-reactions*' to what individual traders perceived to be disorderly conduct by young people[14].

CCTV does not in the empirical case study have much, if any, affect upon the use of the space as a tool of exclusion. Misdemeanors in the area have still been reported and on occasion actioned by the police (see appendix 1), and the perception of CCTV amongst the young people interviewed was citied repeatedly as one of the reasons they gather in this area '*because we know its safe with them here*'[15].

Inversely CCTV is increasingly cited as a central reason behind the increase in regulations of access to pseudo-public spaces. A critical case in the national press in the summer of 2005 was the public furore over the ban on hooded apparel in 'Bluewater Shopping Centre' in Kent. The need to identify young 'thugs' who hide from cameras in such clothing has been cited as a reason for the ban, supported by the Prime Minister under the rhetoric of anti-social behaviour:

"*People are rightly fed up with street-corner and shopping-centre thugs; yobbish behaviour, sometimes from children as young as ten or 11 whose parents should be looking after them; Friday and Saturday night binge-drinking which makes our town centres no-go areas for respectable citizens; of the low-level graffiti, vandalism and disorder that is the work of a very small minority that makes the law-abiding majority afraid and angry.*" (Blair 2000)

Alongside the '*Anti-social Behaviour Act*' (HMSO 2003a), and widespread mix of responses to the new morally driven New Labour rhetoric on community (Ferguson 2002; Cochrane 2003; Holden & Iveson 2003; Imrie & Raco 2003; Raco 2003), challenges to these new anti-social behaviour laws are in process. Among the most significant of attempts to challenge the blurring distinctions of public and private space in the UK to date - and the apparent support of this in urban renaissance policy - came from human rights activist group '*Liberty*' who are challenging an ASBO in the Richmond area, the leader of which stated:

"*The Prime Minister has prioritised creating a culture of respect in Britain. He should remember that respect is a two-way street. These powers fail to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. No one objects to reasonable sanctions for bad behaviour. He should attack that behaviour and not all children.*" (Anon 2005b)

Recently this view has been ratified by the European Court of Human rights, specifically regarding curfews affecting young people under 16, as stated by Liberty human rights group:

'*79% of police forces in England and Wales have imposed 9pm curfews on the under-16s in their area, regardless of whether they have done anything wrong.*' (Anon 2005c)

The legality of these curfews are now under review following the overturning of one such case in the Richmond area, and the affect this could have long term on antisocial

behaviour legislation is as yet unknown, though the Home Office are appealing the decision (Andalo 2005; Anon 2005a).

The interplay of distinctions of identity and performative activity in public space with the rhetoric's of anti-social behaviour in management strategy in its current form create what appears to be a direct opposition between representations of space - driven by entrepreneurial strategy from managers and stakeholders - and representational spaces - street level experiences driven by spatial practices - and thus draconian exclusion measures can, are increasingly are, made implicit within the operational tactics of behavioural legislation underpinning the management of both young peoples citizenship and access to urban public space.

Participation & Hegemony: Social Exclusion of Youth from Conceptual Space

In understanding participation and hegemony in practice there are several points to be addressed. For example, in the production of Newcastle's urban renaissance, specifically around OES, there are tensions in the processes of consultation (see 7.2).

Due to the lack of explicit guidelines in urban policy regarding local consultation, and vague best practice requirements for the content and practice of statements of community involvement, young people and local traders were sidelined throughout the consultation processes affecting Old Eldon Square. These groups, who are most central to the day-to-day use of the square, should have been among the first contacted in any formal consultation, and no clear reason for this has been offered by any interviewees from amongst managerial groups.

Young people, in particular, were not consulted directly, with regard to the 3-scheme redevelopment plans for the bus concourse[16], at all during this process and none of the traders interviewed participated in either the CSC sponsored or the general compilation of the statement of community involvement. Though the plans were made available for a brief consultation period, they were poorly advertised (online and in the widely, but not

universally distributed City Council magazine '*Citylife*', as well as local press '*Chronicle*' and '*The Journal*'). The model of the proposed redevelopment was made available for public viewing in Eldon Square Shopping Centre for a brief period (approx. 2 weeks) before being removed, only viewable by appointment via CSC directly. As such no negative comments from key user subgroups that might alter, hold up or even stop dead the redevelopment plans of the city council were integrated into the consultation (see 7.2).

This structure of participation has been discussed by Jessop who applies these tensions to a much wider perspective on '*societalisation*' as a process of capitalism (Jessop 1997a: 565-570). Emerging from this idea are embedded tensions between, not only '*economic domination*' and '*economic hegemony*' but tensions between *micro*, *meso* and *macro* level negotiations in the orientation of capitalism as a system of governance:

'*Whereas economic domination refers to the structural and organisational power of capital to secure compliance from other institutional orders with its own reproduction-regulation requirements, economic hegemony exists where a given accumulation strategy is the basis for an institutionalised compromise for coordinating, governing or guiding activities within and across different institutional orders around the pursuit of a particular capitalist trajectory*' (ibid: 566)

The consultation practices of Newcastle City Council in this case demonstrate that the nature and form of participation is streamed towards the economic trajectory of urban renaissance at the expense of a more inclusive system of consultation. That said the *intent* of managerial tactics used to implement a renaissance-driven strategy that actively excludes young people cannot be objectively isolated. Thus young people are at best marginalised from participation.

This institutionalised format of consultation seems mechanistic rather than integrated and results seem to reflect that. Such methods in the social sciences would be criticised for their bias – as these often seem to lead participants, informing actions and decisions that

have already been taken before the meeting was convened - but in the commercial reality of civic governance these are tried and tested, and more importantly cheap and familiar, ways of contacting young people. A redifferentiation of what participation is and should mean is required in this sense.

The Newcastle Graffiti forum and associated research using 'participatory appraisal' has been a highly successful example of developing an awareness of the issue of lifestyle in why groups and individuals perform specific activities. By involving the researched in the processes of research, and the dissemination of that research, managers are brought face to face in the same room as those they represent. This approach gives a more visceral understanding to the reasons for behaviour leading to a more integrated understanding of the need for 'alternative' provisions for 'alternative' lifestyle groups, such as 'graf' artists (Fuller et al. 2003). This also has helped in creating a more joined-up approach as several key participants in this research were also linked to the skate park consultation, which at the design stage in particular were highly successful. Unfortunately getting to this stage took far too long as several rounds of traditional consultation events and bureaucracy were negotiated behind closed doors within the council before the skate park plan was actioned (see chapter 9.3).

Lessons can be learned by looking at creative governance with similar cultural lifestyle groups in other UK cities bringing both the policy of participation and the mixed-use of urban public space together. By involving the participants in a specific lifestyle activity or demographic in hegemonic negotiations using new creative methods of participation allows for a negotiated hegemony to increase integrated citizenship instead of reproduce traditional inequalities. The goal of these techniques is to improve the awareness, of all key actors, of both the democratic and spatial tensions that lifestyles create *in situ*, and the dynamic contribution such minorities can make to the experience of the urban for all citizens.

For example with regard to skating; this is a street sport, evolving in semi-legal or liminal spaces during the second half of the 20th century (Borden 2001b). Antagonism to

dominant orders is at the heart of its identity. However, some urban authorities are beginning to experiment and provide public spaces with multiple conceptual use-values, instead of privileging 'single-minded spaces' throughout the design process. In some areas innovative urban designing has sought to integrate skateboarding features into public space. For example the South Bank Centre in London has developed five 'skatable sculptures' which are multi-functional as either seating or skate-able objects. These are to last for up to two years and are located in a liminal area historically connected to skating activity (Ellis 2004).

Another excellent example of small scale participatory events occurred at Glasgow's Gallery of Modern Art (GOMA) addressing long-standing tensions between the gallery staff, patrons and young people who used the adjacent public square to 'hang out'. An exhibition aired video diaries detailing origins and concerns of the youths, photos were displayed of their activities and attempts were made to foster a deeper understanding of who these young people were and why they felt so connected to the public space in question. The end result was the development of closer connections between the young Goth and Skate community, and, representatives of the council, the gallery and the public - all of which had an improved appreciation of the pressures and practices levied at young people, as well as the difficulties faced in their experiences of the city[17].

More recently this type of participatory approach is represented in situ on OES by the Heritage lottery fund attempt to contribute to attaining village green status for OES, and the growing 'Hands off the green' movement amongst young people – encouraged by activist groups around the city centre. These represent direct action and an engagement with hegemony from the bottom-up – this could be interpreted as the evolution of passive hanging out into a more subaltern resistance as the territory of the youth groups is eroded by renaissance. However, at this stage no changes have been made to the regeneration plans and the fervour of these youth groups may not remain consistent. If the council simply 'wait out' the youth interest and media coverage, without conducting any further consultations, then the regeneration will likely carry on unthreatened, the commercial

plan vindicated in the eyes of what is *required* for statutory community consultation (see 7.2).

Discussing the form of policy and strategy in the light of such tensions between strategy and space has relevance beyond these local minutiae. As discussed earlier (chapter 4) these tensions in revanchism entrepreneurialism manifest across a range geographic and political scales - *micro*, *meso* and *macro* (Muir 2004: 952). The above examples well represent the micro and the locally specific context of good practice, however this sits within a national body of policy made of government strategies - white papers, green papers other policy drafts and strategic guidance - and as such should be broadened back out into this framework[18].

Significantly, there is little reference in the early formulations of strategic youth policy - in the form of draft Green papers on youth[19] and the 'Hear by Right' standards (Wade et al. 2001) - to spatial tensions; the document focuses on youth transitions from a child to an adult, privileging discourses of safety (the need to protect youth – citing specific moral panics), education (quality of schooling and access to further/higher education) and disadvantage (necessary but familiar disability and homelessness debates) over democratic concerns around the format and structure of participation.

Where youth participation is discussed it is framed through the need for specific institutional actors who can deal with the entire spectrum of youth issues. Young people are not given access or voice to their opinions and interests in other areas of policy where young people are in fact affected through this method - such as urban regeneration through urban renaissance or, in the draft green paper, issues of justice and anti-sociability which increasingly affect young peoples experiences of life in wider contexts than the regeneration of and access to city centre public space. The policies are wide ranging and elements of the green paper suggesting that joining up youth services is necessary. The ongoing progress to create a single 'Director of Youth Services' with influence at several levels of government for the overseeing of youth policy, with the intention of ensuring that best practice guidelines are adhered to (T.S.O 2003b; 2003a:

67) could well go some way to addressing the marginalisation of youth services from the central agenda during the regenerative furore. The development of better means of integrating and ensuring integration of young people into government are thus sustained, but as these policy changes are still lagging behind new anti-social behaviour legislation (HMSO 2003a) it may be some time before any significant alternations to youth participation are made, if ever.

Increasingly concerns have been voiced over the methods of distinction by which youth policy is organised and the separation of policies such as '*Youth Justice*' (H.M.S.O 2004) and '*Every child matters*' draft green paper (Anon 2004c), as this may create tensions in the treatment of children as 'victims' and 'perpetrators' instead of active citizens through a language of '*early intervention*' and '*ensuring protection*' (T.S.O 2003a) - potentially increasing the exclusion of young people through anti-social legislation and rhetoric on the control of space. Thematic assessment of specific issues in the public eye have led to a reactive policy framework where issues of youth safety (specifically children) and youth justice (specifically anti-social youth/families) are treated separately and with no holistic spatial emphasis in either case, as seen in the urban renaissance white paper (D.E.T.R 2000; O.D.P.M 2001b- see 7.2).

The recent government Green Paper '*Youth Matter*s' has begun to address some spatial concerns but still privileges parental authority over children higher than direct dialogue with young people, and reifies previous short comings in the representation of spatial considerations from the top-down managerial and adult perception rather than form the youth perception of lived realities - youth spaces *are* discussed but in limiting terms of attacking disorder and anti-sociability. Significantly consultation still reflects a dominion of managerial and parental authority over young people suggesting '*Do you agree with our suggestions? Are there things we haven't thought about?*' and utilising a linear set of choices from types of predetermined provision rather than engaging in an open-ended dialogue on requirements, wants and needs (DfES 2005). This over emphasis on services instead of spatial considerations moves no closer to understanding the importance of lifestyles and lived experiences of young people outside of the school-home-employment

transition model of young peoples daily lived inherent in the New Labour approach to youth policy, as such it simply adds another layer of rhetoric to an already convoluted (mis)understanding of young people by managerial actors and parents alike.

At the time of writing the legislation for control of public spaces does not prohibit the perception of 'nuisance' behaviour - young people getting in the way of other consumers - or the visual performance of identity through collective practices of distinction - i.e. wearing similar clothing. However, the recent anti-social behaviour legislation and government white papers on these themes - '*Respect and Responsibility – Taking a Stand Against Anti-Social Behaviour*' (HMSO 2003b) - along with exclusion of specific aesthetic demography's from private spaces, highlights once more the increased potential for regulatory activities based on the perception of difference and danger rather than an actual event or anti-social action. From this there is a clear and definite need for a clear distinction of public and private spaces and the rules or codes of conduct within them. The public spaces of the city may begin to disappear completely beneath the implicit exclusion underpinning entrepreneurialism, creating a regulated urban landscape of aesthetically pleasing, and whilst not militant certainly 'militating' consumption (Sorkin 1992).

Towards Joining up Theory and Research: Further Points for Future research

Bringing these disparate threads of enquiry together creates a somewhat frenetic narrative. Themes often become interlaced, and this is intentional, as a representation of the oscillating rhythms of spatial production.

The normative morality of the public has been linked through perception to the perceived need for regulation of specific troublesome youth groups by the public. This research suggests that this elicits a hegemonic response through the civic managerial machinery. The commercial imperative is implicit in entrepreneurial tactics of governance underpinning the redesign of Eldon square shopping centre – and the effective redesign of OES, thus seeking to create an altered environment – one which is at once less

comfortable and liminal and making the space 'safer, cleaner and brighter', bringing OES 'back into the city centre' (Anon 2004a) but discouraging protracted lingering or 'hanging out' of youth groups in favour of more commercial leisured consumption by family demographics. Further OES as a conceptual space is linked to an extension of the connective role of the space as a thoroughfare between commercial zones in the city centre (north and south). It has been suggested by some key managerial actors that by redesigning the space then more 'normal people' will be coming back into the area and the youths will, find somewhere else to go. This approach seems to designify young people in all sense of citizenship by excluding them from the processes of decision-making, and through the spatial redevelopment, from the environment that has been consistently dominated by youth culture for most of the twentieth century.

The effective displacement and dispersal of youth from public spaces, in this context, can be seen as a genuinely identifiable intent underpinning urban renaissance as a strategy in Newcastle. Importantly this intent cannot be attributed to a specific agent, or even in fairness directly to the council, as it is inherent in the orientation of strategic entrepreneurial governance through the emphasis on stakeholder partnership with private enterprise and the performance indicators by which success is measured – particularly the conflation of culture and economy and the misconception of economic growth which seems to assume that universal improvements in the quality of life occur at the local level as a result of this growth. Youth, however, are not exported from the city centre despite the shift in governance, though low levels of displacement do exist. In fact during the holiday periods the bye-laws and legislative behavioural constraints that do exist are largely ignored by young people in the city centre with little or no enforcement of punitive fines by the local police.

It does appear, however, that the perceptions of the young people which underpin the tactical management of youth are significantly imbalanced by the powerful interests of the 'cultural economy' and the emphasis on commercial partnership in decision-making. The dominant concept of culture-led economic renaissance appears not to allow for the

diversity of use-values to occur naturally in public space, privileging consumption above all else. This is no less true elsewhere than it is in Newcastle's urban renaissance.

In this respect often it would appear that the perception is the key locus point of spatial production from the managerial side, as in the control and supply, or management and maintenance of the public and 'open' space. The council must be seen by constituents - as citizens, worryingly referred to more often as 'customers - to be protecting the public and acting upon concerns of the public, or at least the more vocal and participatory elements of the public. The means by which the needs and wants of the local populous are negotiated are often manifest through a combination of steering panels and direct consultation for specific redevelopment projects, from which the council remains distanced[20].

This problematic system of inclusion cannot ensure that these views will have any impact, even if citizens do engage with participation. At best, this reflects the flawed internal communication systems of the city council, exacerbated by the shifting personal and institutional structure – for example the poor attendance at panel meetings for specific projects which drive this system of organisation and the randomly attributed thematic interests of officers and councillors which contribute to this significantly. At worst it is indicative of an organisation with a lack of awareness on the behalf of individual officers who are forced to act within flawed strategic guidelines within a constantly shifting local government institution. A such there is no solid or consistent knowledge of where the appropriate points of contact are to be found across projects and even across managerial subgroups, both services and directorates, as required. The positive suggestion would be with the introduction of dedicated communications officers and a more solid structure in local government then more consistent levels of meaningful cross structural networking may be sustained.

The present situation - as with participation and consultation around the bus concourse redevelopment – seem to target the 'usual suspects'. Thus represent a manifestation of '*episodic power relations*'[21] driven through networks of '*shared concern, belief or*

value'[22] – local residents association, stakeholder partners etc. This entrepreneurial method of governance privileges discourses of strategic place-marketing and the rhetoric of urban renaissance over the inclusion of problematic minority groups, like young people, and thus participation is framed to fulfil the statutory requirements for community consultation but only so much as to ensure commercial redevelopment. This falls far short of the intent underpinning 'statements of community involvement' in redevelopment and as such improvements are required in the institutional capacity for public participation:

'*Faced with more complex issues such as those inherent in globalisation, civil society organisations need new skills if they are to be heard and understood by governments and by the citizens they represent. There are critical internal technical and institutional challenges. If civil society organisations are to enhance public education, they must be sufficiently educated themselves; while they can encourage public debate, they must also respect differences of opinion within their own circles and guard against cooption. In order to promote public participation, they must offer equal opportunities for all people to participate in their own activities and importantly, while civil society organisations can foster public transparency and public accountability they must also maximise their own accountability to their constituents and the public at large.*' (Anon. 2005)

An institutional *in*capacity for participatory inclusion is embedded in the very structure and process of entrepreneurial governance, underpinned by an institutionalised mistrust of youth - created itself by a combination of cultural and institutional processes. Through this shifting and fragmented institutional structure there appears to be a lack of education amongst practitioners as to the responsibility to the citizens they represent as employees of a governance institution to the importance of inclusivity in hegemonic negotiations. These negotiations are increasingly carefully structured through *meso* and *micro* levels of consultation (Muir 2004: 952) and appear to reproduce existing strategic goals, irrelevant of the requirements of the collectively distinct urban other, thus excluding them from citizenship. As this situation persists democracy becomes less inclusive and more legislative and authority is applied without due processes of accountability to the wider

citizenry - leading, in this case, towards increasing homogeneity in the cultural-economic regeneration of the city centres, and the creation of prescriptive and *commercial* public spaces.

10.3 The Production of Space Revisited

The final thoughts here aim to return to the critical issue of wedding theory and practice in the course of ongoing research and narrative. In this regard the above considerations for policy are where possible linked to the theoretical language, but these concerns here are based, at first, purely in the theoretical production of space before connecting this once more to the overarching issues brought out by urban renaissance of commercial public space.

Representational Space & Use-values: Distinctive Tensions & Conflict

This research has made apparent the need for a redefinition of the 'landscapes and vernaculars of power' regarding space[23], but also for an extension of the deeper understanding of what 'space' is and how it is 'produced'; particularly with reference to the ongoing tensions and interplay between 'public' and 'private' spaces in the context of regeneration and renaissance[24].

In public the interplay between different subgroups can potentially be expanded beyond the tribal collective distinctions amongst young people to include managers and businesses as another form of 'tribe' with a different set of collective distinctions. In this case the perception of activity from the managerial tribe is linked to the perceived domination of a public space and the resultant reduction in the publicness of that space by the territorial possession of the area by young people (see Worpole 2.1), thus legitimating the perception of youth as problematic within that socio-spatial management rhetoric; i.e. the presence of young people is seen as the catalyst in increasing tensions between groups. A new interpretation of youth and public space driven through management policy could integrate differential spatial practices, and potentially would give a deeper understanding of the bottom-up approach to this interplay of different interests, with a view to generating more inclusive representations of space in managerial strategy and giving a clearer picture of the distinct interests of each subgroup engaged with public space in the city centre as they interplay *in situ*.

The hegemonic operation of participation, through consultation, makes explicit the importance of power in spatial production. The integration of each subgroup into the process of decision-making reflects the associated political power of that group within the wider operation of economically oriented democracy, and this is inherent in the spatial practices of different groups. From the perspective of maintenance and use as composite elements of spatial practice, this research brings together the lived representational space and the conceived representations of space for an assessment of the productive vernacular of emergent 'landscapes of power':

'*Just as* landscape *shows the imprint of powerful business and political institutions on both the built environment and its symbolic representation, so does* vernacular *express the resistance, autonomy and originality of the powerless.*' (Zukin 1992: 198)

This is not intended to return to oppositional and resistance based rhetoric's of subaltern cultures, as it has been shown that organisation is central to this form of action. That said, increasingly the emergence of movements such as 'Hands of the Green' suggests a turn towards more subaltern activity on the part of the Goths. This is likely to be, by and large, unsustainable in the long-term, due to the nature of youth as a transition; and the variable applications of this cultural identity in later life as individual choices in lifestyle and taste rather than political ideology. However, in this sense OES is an instrumental space - and potentially 'territory' - for both groups, as a 'territorial possession'. It remainns a centrally located 'liminal' space of perceived 'safety' where young people can gather unmolested by security agencies, or any other actors, who may seek to move them on wherever they begin to coalesce in numbers (chapter 9). This is the broad definition of the lived representational space for young people, and should such political activism develop further, or prove sustainable as the redevelopment continues, then the potential for a truly subaltern community to emerge increases. Young people can and do have political power in decision-making but the hierarchies of entrepreneurial governance do not allow for an in depth integration of this into the representational spaces of renaissance at this time.

Where this assessment differs from many others is in its attempt to push the assessment of participation through a lens of perception and morality. By reflecting upon the perceptions of youth brought forth in discussing identity - in the context of urban renaissance policies attempts to arrest urban decline through economic orientation of conceptual representations of the public, and the resultant increase in the importance of a wider perception of successful regeneration of the inner city - several points are made explicit.

First, it is apparent that increasing the efficiency of the urban environment is driven by economic rather than social imperative, and as such managerial reflections of success are not socially inclusive to minorities privileging the needs and wants of stake-holders through the conceptual orientation of strategic planning towards cultural economic imperatives. These economic imperatives become synergic with the perception of social benefits through; the embracing of social order driven environmental improvements (such as CCTV cameras) - further problematic due to the broadly ambiguous best practice underpinning crime control tactics (McCahill 2000, 2003; Coleman 2004a, 2004b; Klauser 2004) - where conflation occurs between the anti-social and the 'nuisance'; the development of improvements to city centre architecture through the commercially driven understandings of competition and success - represented by the co-option of private sector managers into civic roles and exacerbated by the increased emphasis on economic success indicators as opposed to difficult social problems; and the lack of regulation in ensuring consultation and participatory democratic process.

Secondly, acceptability in public space is increasingly defined through the prescriptive morality implicit in these renaissance driven conceptual designs. These overly rational spatial representations are another facet of the privileging of commerce of civic imperative in management, but have wider implications in the perception and definition of appropriateness through aesthetic considerations. The highly blurred distinction of

public and commercial space lead to a confused public perception of appropriateness and a reaction against public activity on the part of young people as the liminal and disorderly spaces of youth are subsumed and redeveloped into pseudo-public commercial spaces. This engenders an altering of the spatial practices of those engaged in use of the area through the methods of perception and reaction to the perceived appropriateness, or lack thereof. Essentially in the case of OES the space ceases to be static as a predominantly memorial representations are subsumed by those of the regenerated connective thoroughfare, linking spaces of consumption to create a commercial redefinition of the use-values attributed to the space. This changes the rhythms underpinning the interplay of perception and reaction as they occur dynamically leading to the fragmentation of perception by key actors as to what is seen as appropriate, disorderly, anti-social or acceptable. This has been manifest through the various views of local traders, local police, the city council and the young people themselves - in their various subgroups.

Thirdly, from the standpoint of methodology, the context of researching such tensions between lifestyle demographics, power, citizenship, space and culture requires interdisciplinary research design and the development of shared understandings of 'quality of life' between diverse groups of urban users through a form of 'street phenomenology' (Kusenbach 2003) which can be developed to integrate the top-down and formal planning structure with bottom-up ethnographies of urban citizenship. Alongside this it may be beneficial to develop a more integrated understanding of both 'social' and 'spatial' capital (Soja 2005) to assist in unpacking the tensions of a multi-layered spatial dynamic which occurs moment to moment through the various uses of public space - in this context regeneration can be seen as the top-down managerial use as the main activities of managers affecting these spaces are driven through such activity, as opposed to the bottom-up appropriation of space by alternative normative moralities of youth cultures and minority subgroups (Miles 2003b, 2003a).

In terms of linking these theoretical practicalities to the reality of improving the inclusivity of urban renaissance, the types of forward-thinking consultation as well as participatory designs and consultation events beginning to emerge in Newcastle suggest

that it is the understanding amongst urban managers - of the complexities of social dynamics at play in the *use* of the city by diverse lifestyle oriented subgroups - that is important in rebalancing the revanchism of current urban strategic policy. This has the potential to drive forward a more inclusive renaissance in both policy and space, reducing the emphasis on economic growth and homogenised urban aesthetics and requiring 'alternative spaces of citizenship' to be explored:

'*Any attempt to understand struggles over citizenship must therefore not restrict the account of power relations to those made visible and tangible in the city itself. Rather it must consider the on-going creation, recreation, and closure of a range of political spaces and spatialities*' (Holden & Iveson, 2003: pp.60)

Examples from both policy and practice of spatial production in Newcastle offer some tentative glimpses into how the lifestyle, activities and 'lived experience' of the excluded or different 'lifestyle tribes' in and around the city centre have been consulted and included in decision making processes which, on one hand, has led to one of these groups being given a purpose built activity space (albeit passively dispersing them from the city centre). On the other hand attempts to systematically displace similar youth demography's from the city centre through explicit regulation, implicit demonisation and the renaissance validated 'designing-out' of particular 'nuisances' appear to have developed in parallel. The wider question this poses, for researchers and practitioners alike, regards creating a clearer understanding of the tensions between revanchism and diversity, and understanding how a balance can be created between the different normative moral landscapes of use, the differentially generated collective distinctions of 'otherness' and re-appropriated use and the economic imperative to create commercial public spaces which privileging a single-concept of use within city centre public spaces in the future.

Appendices

INCIDENT REPORTS – January-March 2003

Date	Reported By /Time	Details
04/01/03	Business on OES	Snowballs being thrown at premises (windows) by youths NO GROUP I.D. 2 Arrests for Criminal Damage RESOLUTION UNKNOWN
04/01/03	Business on OES (5 minutes later)	Approx. 100 youths, aged 15-18, gathered outside, causing problems for the elderly customers, slippery pavements. NO GROUP I.D. These youths had set off a fire extinguisher in the corridor of No.7 OES, and were also throwing snowballs. Youth Advised / NO FURTHER ACTION AVAILABLE
10/01/03	Anonymous Female	4 Males, 2 Females, drinking, threats to harm Anon. made. NO GROUP I.D. NO PROOF/ NO FURTHER ACTION AVAILABLE
11/01/03	Patrolling Officer	1 Arrest for Possession of an Offensive Weapon (Knife) WARNED & Released[25]
16/01/03	Member of the Public 5:50pm	Phone report to Market Street Police Station. A parent has heard that on Saturday there is to be a fight between 'Goths'[26] and 'Charvers'. Some of these youths will be armed with knives & guns. Officers attend @ weekend, NO EVENT, NO FURTHER ACTION AVAILABLE
19/01/03	CSC Security 3:35pm	Insecure Premises. A window has been broken at Kathmandu CCTV records provide no solution NO FURTHER ACTION AVAILABLE
20/01/03	Officer on Patrol	1 Arrest for Possession of Cannabis GROUP I.D. = Charver PROSECUTED - RESOLUTION UNKNOWN

27/01/03	CSC Security 2:20pm	Youth Trouble on OES – no further information given CCTV sweep provides no proof NO EVENT / NO FURTHER ACTION AVAILABLE[27]
29/01/03	Youth	Phoned into Market Street Police Station Theft of Mobile Phone Reported NO PROOF / EVIDENCE NO FURTHER ACTION AVAILABLE[28]
31/01/03	Youth (Goth Female)	Phoned into Market Street Police Station Theft of Handbag by a group of females near Chevy Chase.[29] 2 Arrests for Common Theft, no I.D. made @ line-up NO FURTHER ACTION AVAILABLE
08/02/03	Youth (Goth) 4:09pm	Assault reported on a 13 year old female Location given as 'The Hippy Green', Ambulance dispatched to the site. GROUP I.D. = Goth Crime Logged as Common Assault Information from the victim "Being Assaulted by Charvers"[30] NO ARREST / NO FURTHER ACTION AVAILABLE
15/02/03	**3 CALLS** Member of the Public Business on OES (x2) 4:09pm	Phoned into Market Street Police Station "Trouble in the street…youths fighting" "Youth on the Green" "A group of 50 near the Green are fighting" "A group of Charvers appeared from nowhere and started a fight with one male" Youths near the green, on the slip road adjacent. As the police arrive they disperse. 1 detained immediately 6 DETAINED - 2 Assault, 4 on Breach of the Peace 2 CHARGED: 1st offender - Section 3 of the Public Order Act 1986 (reduced to Section 4 @ trial) 2nd Offender – Section 5 of the Public Order Act 1986[31] CONDITIONAL RELEASE
15/02/03	Anon	Neighbourhood Services / Council Road-sweeper collides with young girl on slip road area. Medical assistance offered, Officers attend - Accident NO FURTHER ACTION NECESSARY

18/02/03	Member of the Public 6:45pm	"Problems with youths" "7-8 youths shouting and throwing stones" NO GROUP I.D. 1 Arrest for Section 5 of the Public Order Act 1986 CHARGED: Section 5 of the Public Order Act 1986
18/02/03	Police Camera 9:10pm	"4 inquisitive males" trying to force entry into a business on the terrace. NO GROUP I.D. Officers Attend - Stopped and identified, advised and moved on. NO FURTHER ACTION NECESSARY
22/02/03	Police Sgt. West End Area Command 2:45pm	Witness Intimidation, A police witness in a case was threatened whilst on OES Dealt with by West End Area Command Officers
22/02/03	Officer on Patrol	1 Arrest for Breach of the Peace CHARGED: Section 4 of the Public Order Act 1986 (£50 fine issued) NO FURTHER INFORMATION AVAILABLE
24/02/03	Officer on Patrol 6:40pm	1 Arrest for Breach of the Peace GROUP I.D. Charver NO FURTHER INFORMATION AVAILABLE
27/02/03	Police Cameras	Possibility of missing person (missing from home) @ the rear of Fenwick premises. Officers attend NO EVENT / NO FURTHER ACTION AVAILABLE[32]
01/03/03	Officer on Patrol	12 Year old male collapsed, alchohol related. Youth had been drinking Vodka. Medical assistance called, parents informed. GROUP I.D. = Goth (inconclusive[33])
01/03/03	Business on OES 5pm	"Trouble at Eldon Green" "Lasses getting beaten up" - 25 involved Officers Attend: "Kids messin' on", No Criminality[34] No Arrests / NO FURTHER ACTION NECESSARY

05/03/03	Police cameras	Youth sniffing gas near Boots, on Eldon Walk GROUP I.D. = Charvers Officers Attend: Stop/Check 2 Charver youths (Male) No offence detected NO FURTHER ACTION AVAILABLE
08/03/03	Member of the Public 5:45pm	Female Collapsed on OES, Old Lady fell on steps Ambulance called, no connection to youth. Accident. NO FURTHER ACTION NECESSARY
15/03/03	**2 Calls** Member of the Public 2nd caller Anon. 8:45pm	Large fight, 15 males Stabbing reported, 'crimed' as Section 47 – Assault[35] NO GROUP I.D. No Arrests NO FURTHER ACTION AVAILABLE
17/03/03	Business on OES 5:20pm	Abusive youths @ rear, 1 almost pushed an old lady over. Described as wearing "a black fleece, short hair, black jeans and a chain on his pocket" GROUP I.D. = Goth (inconclusive[36]) Officers Attend: Arrive in less than 15 minutes. Staff did not wish to be spoken to or bothered in relation to the incident. Youths have vacated the area.[37] NO FURTHER ACTION AVAILABLE
22/03/03	Business on OES 2:20pm	Drug abuse in alleyway @ rear of terrace. Officers attend: No sign of youth[38] NO FURTHER ACTION AVAILABLE
22/03/03	Young Peoples Unit, General Hospital 10:40pm	Child reported missing, returned reporting an assault by a male with black hair on OES NO PROOF / EVIDENCE NO FURTHER ACTION AVAILABLE
28/03/03	Business on OES 3:35pm	2 youths writing on sign outside shop with marker pens 1 Male – Dark short cropped hair, beige jacket 1 Female – Copper Coloured Hair, Jacket & Jeans GROUP I.D. = Charver (inconclusive[39]) 2 Arrests for Criminal Damage NO PROSECUTION = investigation showed no intent to cause permanent damage and the marker pen washed off (non-permanant ink). NO FURTHER ACTION NECESSARY

29/03/03	Officer on Patrol 3:50pm	Officer requesting assistance (garbled radio message) GROUP I.D. = Charver 2 Arrests for Breach of the Peace[40] RESOLUTION UNKNOWN
29/03/03	Youth 7:15pm	Front Counter @ Market Street Police Station 14 year old male reports approaches by group of older males, resulting in theft of phone. NO GROUP I.D. NO Arrest / NO FURTHER ACTION AVILABLE

Most incidents generally take pace between the hours opf 12-6pm, though there are a few more in the evenings that is attributed to the fact that there is less coverage of the area as it moves to other more problem areas such as the Bigg Market and more heavily populated routes…

ANTI SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR ORDERS 2003-2005

- June 2002 - City centre vagrant received a 2 yr ASBO for his anti social behaviour over a prolonged period of time.
- April 2003 - 35 yr old male received ASBO for his behaviour towards females. However on 31/3/05 this was revoked at Newcastle Crown Court.
- Feb 2004 - 19 yr old female given 2yr ASBO for shoplifting. The order prohibits her from entering any retail premises within the parking meter zone of the city.
- Feb 2004 - 25 yr old female given 2 yr ASBO for begging activities. British Transport Police instigated the application centred around railway property.
- May 2004 - 33 yr old male given 2 yr ASBO for his prolonged criminal activity within licensed premises.
- Nov 2004 - 34 yr old male habitual drunk granted ASBO for 2yrs. Revoked in March 2005. ASBO to be applied for again.
- Dec 2004 - 43 yr old male habitual drunk given 2 yr ASBO for his anti social behaviour

- Jan 2005 - 39 yr old male, habitual drunk given 5 yr ASBO at Newcastle Crown Court.

Further information regarding the specifics of these incidents and subsequent legislation are protected by the Data Protection Act.

TCM / City Council / Questions

NAME / AGE / JOB:
GENDER:
HOME (where is):
Is there a concept (driven plan) for Newcastle City Centre?
Who do you think is charge of running the day-to-day operations of the city centre?
What aspects of consultation have you been involved in about the changes happening in the city centre – prep before interviews and ask about specifics.
What do you think is the main reason people (middle-class, elderly etc) visit the city centre?

- What do you think is the main reason young people visit the city centre?

OLD ELDON SQUARE – conceptions of (representations of space)
How do you want Old Eldon Square to develop in the future?
Who are the ideal users of city centre public spaces like, Old Eldon Square, The Blue carpet etc?
What do you think of young people on Old Eldon Square? Are they mainly of one demographic:

- SKATERS
  GOTHS
  CHARVERS
  Students?
  What other people do you think come to use Old Eldon Square?
  What do you want the green to be in the future?

OLD ELDON SQUARE – perceptions of (spatial practice):
WHAT IS the Dominant use of the 'green' (ACTIVITY)

- Do you use the Green (same as city centre)
- What relationship, other than architectural juxtaposition do you see between Old Eldon Square and the Shopping centre?
- Are you aware of the Anti-skating bye-laws, do you think they are appropriate and / or effective in dealing with the problems caused by skating?
- How are Police relationships with young people on the 'green'

- OLD ELDON SQUARE – lived experiences (representational spaces)
  - What do you think is the main feature of Old Eldon Square?
  - What kind of experience do you want people to have when they visit Newcastle city centre?

Urban decline, difficult times after Swan, no industry...on the recovery, cultural, service economy, growing knowledge economy, still a large lit. on fear in the city centre...

- What do you think is the biggest fear of individuals when they come into the city?
- How would you try to minimise the fear or intimidation experienced by people caused by large groups – of Young Goths, football fans etc.
- OR Is there anything that makes you uncomfortable about being in the city centre?

- Where would you like to see / think would be a good place, for future youth provision in the city centre?

DO YOU THINK OF OLD ELDON SQUARE AS SEPARATE FROM ELDON SQUARE SHOPPING CENTRE?

DO YOU THINK OLD ELDON SQUARE IS A PUBLIC SPACE OR A PRIVATE SPACE? Which do you think it SHOULD be?

YOUNG PEOPLE / GOTHS / SKATERS / Questions

AGE:
GENDER:
HOME (where is):
What do you think of Newcastle City Centre?
Why do you come into the City Centre?
What do you think is the main reason other people visit the city centre?
Who do you think is charge of running the day-to-day operations of the city centre?
Have you been involved in any consultation about the changes happening in the city centre?
Would you say you belonged to a particular cultural group / style, if so what?
Why do you dress that way?

- OLD ELDON SQUARE – lived experiences (representational spaces)
  - What do you think is the main feature of Old Eldon Square?
  - WHAT IS the Dominant use of the 'green' (ACTIVITY)
  - Why do you come to the Green (same as city centre)
  - What do you think of - SKATERS
    GOTHS
    CHARVERS
    Students?
  - What's your biggest fear when you come into the city?
  - Do you think that some people are scared of / intimidated by you, large groups of young people?
  - OR Is there anything that makes you uncomfortable about being in the city centre?

- OLD ELDON SQUARE – conceptions of (representations of space)
  - How do you think the people who manage the city centre perceive Old Eldon Square?
  - How do you think the people who manage the city centre perceive young people on Old Eldon Square?
  - How do you think the people who manage the city centre perceive other people who come to use Old Eldon Square?
  - If you had to say what do you think their idea is for the green in the future?

- OLD ELDON SQUARE – perceptions of (spatial practice):
  - How do you think of the green, what's your perception of it as a space in the city centre?
  - WHO ARE the Young people on the 'green'? (are they Goths?)
  - How are Police relationships with young people on the 'green'
  - Are you aware of the Anti-skating bye-laws? Do they bother you in any way?
  - Ever see any security from Eldon Square itself on the green?
    - Events, incidents etc?
    - Get treated differently in the shopping centre to on the Green?
  - Other groups, e.g. BYPP, STREETWISE

- Where would you like to see / think would be a good place, for future youth provision in the city centre?

DO YOU THINK OF OLD ELDON SQUARE AS SEPARATE FROM ELDON SQUARE SHOPPING CENTRE?
DO YOU THINK OLD ELDON SQUARE IS A PUBLIC SPACE OR A PRIVATE SPACE?

Which do you think it SHOULD be?

PAGE NUMBERING AS ORIGINAL

Notes

Chapter 1

[1] This research focuses on the city centre. For more on Edge cities (Phelps & Parsons 2003), the thesis will develop the interests of personal and groups throughout the broader debate offered in this research.
[2] A strong example of an anthology covering a wider range of related interests can be seen in Nicolas Fyfe's 'Images of the Street', discussions of other aspects of youth research often focus on social exclusion as poverty and crime (MacDonald 1997; MacDonald & Marsh 2001; Webster et al. 2004) a tension noted by Miles (Miles 2003b)
[3] An example of the new institutions emerging in urban governance is Town Centre Management (TCM), an increasingly influential institution in decision making and policy. TCM has been criticised for the similarities in of its management strategy to those used in the development and operation of privatised consumer environments, such as shopping malls (Reeve 1996), see chapter 4.1.
[4] For example Bent Flyvbjerg's investigation of the Nytorv bus terminal project in Aalborg (Flyvbjerg 1998, 2001).
[5] The evolution of research on the social exclusion of the young during the transition to adulthood (MacDonald 1997; MacDonald & Marsh 2001; Webster et al. 2004) is also important but central to this theme, as such it is elided within the narrative where necessary but not as a central theoretical theme in this section.
[6] A broad range of approaches to the moral panic exist, some of these have been integrated into this research others for reasons of narrative and context have not I have included a broad collection of examples here for further reference (Cohen 1972; Jenkins & Maierkatkin 1992; May 1992; Hay 1995; Valentine 1996; Spiecker & Steutel 1997; deYoung 1998; Doyle 1998; Victor 1998; Burns & Crawford 1999; Goode 2000; Hendrick 2001; Furedi 2002; Hier 2002; Rind 2002; Barrett 2003; Rogers 2003).
[7] These kind of subjective stereotypes are problematic for a full explanation of the role of crime in ordering the city centre refer to 'Home Office Standing Conference Report on the Fear of Crime' (1989) *in* (Oc & Tiesdell 1997).
[8] This abbreviation is used to represent Old Eldon Square throughout the body of the thesis – OES ref abbreviations / acronyms list
[9] The time period through which this research was conducted followed the redevelopment of the city centre between the years of 2001-2005. This is particularly relevant due to the changing structure of the local government in the wake of the unsuccessful bid for the European Capital of Culture contest in 2008 occurring throughout the main period of data collection. Assessing the local managerial structure was not without problems as a result; for example whilst an interesting appraisal of the local council could be developed the shifting structure of the local government made it difficult to follow changes in the names and coordination of directorate, services and individual officers, again within the setting the empirical context required some discussion of the wider managerial 'culture' in Newcastle upon Tyne (chapter 6).
[10] The difficulties of offering any tight or specifically bounded classification of this type are discussed in chapters 3, 5 and 10.

Chapter 2

[1] Perhaps 'glocally', for territorial discussion see Brenner or for more urban and social justice tensions see Swyngedouw & Kaika (Brenner 1998b; Swyngedouw & Kaika 2003)
[2] See Evans (2001)
[3] The separation of the public from the familial abode and the social relations of work places the public as separate and distinct from two of the key influences on social life and the image of self for the average individual. For many people the family (in the form of ongoing gender debates) (Bradley 1996: 80-112) and the job (the importance of work or the lack thereof) (Rifkin 1995) can be two of the most influential inputs on the nature of experience and construction of identity, the public realm is set aside from these influential arenas of experience.
[4] Some comparisons could be made with Gramscian notions of hegemonic practice at this superficial level though it is difficult to substantiate if hegemony is the province of mental activity or social interaction (or both) at any one time.
[5] This is not the place to go into greater depth on the epistemological gradations of exchange, labour and social capital to be found in the variations of Habermas and Marx. These more phiolosophical considerations are grounded in a phrenetic phenomenology that lies beyond the scope of this discussion of space. However reference to exchange value and use value will be made so a basic knowledge of Marx is helpful, fort a brief and simple introduction to Marxist economics see Craib (1997: 93-96)
[6] Richard Sennet is renowned for his pessimistic view of the urban future through urban design, culture and identity in the city see (Sennet 1969, 1971, 1990). Sharon Zukin's work is more contemporary and positive dealing with the cultural economy and symbolic economy of new city planning systems and urban change, more on this to follow, see (Zukin 1995, 1998).
[7] Lefebvre (1974) manipulated this system of use-value and exchange-value developed in Marx's 'Capital' in several ways the most telling and useful in defining the role of use and exchange in the production of space and defining the public is through the application of what Lefebvre calls a '*concrete abstraction*' of the '*pure form*' of the bi-polar system of opposition inherent in Marxism labour theory of value (1974: 100). This can applied through the relationship of the body (the physical body of the individual) to the action of use in a spatial permutation or '*rhythm analysis*' of use in space. This theory thus forms a '*pedagogy of appropriation*' that represents the unpacked physical relations of spatial practice (ibid: 205), which will be unpacked further as the discussion progresses. ***Some of these more dense theoretical assertions may rely on assumed knowledge.***
[8] It is interesting to consider as Hillier suggests (Hillier 2003) that often adherence to a set of moral values can be contributed to personal identity and bias as a matter of historical contingency rather than any rationality (ibid: 38-39). This can be linked to the mistrust of youth (chapter 3) and is developed through Foucault below.
[9] Lefebvre (1974) refers to this coding of space, criticising semiotics for evading practice and knowledge through the reduction of urban spatial paradigms of codified production to a series of messages and texts (1974: 7).
[10] For a more comprehensive and applied understanding of abstract space refer to later chapters (see 3.2)
[11] I am not concerned here with an explanation of Marxist theory, for in depth descriptions of the pro's and con's of Marxist economic determinism and political economy see (Craib 1997) *and* (Giddens 1971.)
[12] Further conceptual approaches to spatial production which reflect this tripartite understanding of the notion of interplay are developed in Harvey's 'Social Justice and the City' (1974). Where in discussing Cassirer (1944) emphasising similar principles of 'organic space' and hence *genetically* transmitted and biologically determined experience (this takes a limiting biologically deterministic interpretation reducing human activity to a genetically predetermined set of responses), 'perceptual space' encompassing the optical – hence seen – tactual – as touched – acoustic – as heard – and kinesthetic – bodily movement – as a form of sensual state of experience - and 'symbolic space' – assumed abstract understandings of some universally understood given facts, which Harvey discusses through assumptive geometry – i.e. a triangle is always a triangle even if you don't see a picture of it (Harvey 1973: 28-29).
[13] In this sense it is possible to argue that production and consumption are a singular moment experienced and enforced by each individual simultaneously and even perhaps subconsciously in each second as time passes. Subconsciously is not intended to divorce the individual from agency but to show that these processes are underpinning our experience of space and of the city, they are the background noise in the mind informing decisions and actions moment to moment and as such are

often deeply ingrained appearing as instinctual decisions barely registerable in the melee of consciousness permeating the densely packed and suspicious urban populous as they interact in public space.

[14] If you would like to read more on the definitional debate around public space see Madanipour's discussion (Madanipour 2003)

[15] For an excellent abridgement and objective critique of limitations and problems of Lefebvre as well as some of the key lessons to be learned from his approach to thinking as well as theory see Gottdiener (2000)

[16] The imbalance between actors makes it very difficult to impose any form of reality on the production of space through the conceptual triad as a model, in fact Lefebvre actively discourages the use of his theory in this way but also acknowledges the difficulty in unpacking the 'interstices' between aspects of the triad, see 3.2 or Lefebvre (1974: 40-47)

[17] Though it can be argued that these controls have arguably relaxed since the subcultural explosion of the mid-20th century the proliferation of difference seems to have exacerbated fears in the light of an world filled with uncertainty. This theme will be developed in the discussion of tensions in youth perception of themselves each other and the external perception of youth groups in the next chapter – ref chapter 3.

[18] For a more in depth assessment of the coming of the advanced post-industrial society see Harvey (1990). The principle orientation of Western capitalism has, throughout the 18th-20th centuries, altered the emphasis of organisation, employment and capital circulation from agrarian and industrial production to service and knowledge exchange. There has throughout this globalisation of labour and capital several significant changes in the operation of capitalism, including; a new trans-national global economics of '*flexible accumulation*' (Harvey 1990:147-197). Also some excellent work assessing the global shift from an industrial to a service and knowledge economy from the last twenty years can be seen in Lash and Urry's work (1987 cited in Bradley 1995:33-34). For research into the effect on cities and nations by the increasing the speed of capital circulation, the decentralisation of global financial markets, and ongoing processes referred to in general terms as '*time-space compression*' (Harvey 1990, 1993) and '*globalisation*' (Hutton & Giddens 2000) or '*shrinking space*' (Layshon 1995). All of these issues contribute to an epochal shift which some refer to as post-modern (Soja 1989, 1996), but is more frequently referred to using Bell's term '*post-industrial*' (Eckerdt & Hassenpflug 2003)

'Westernised' cities are no longer primarily the sites of material production that they were during the agrarian and industrial epochs, they have become nodes or '*technopoles*' on a network of financial and information exchange (Castells 1994; Graham & Marvin 1996: 159-160; Graham 2001); and sites of financial exchange and economic interplay (Graham 2001; Sassen 2001). For a detailed introduction to the shrinking of space see '*time-space compression*' in Harvey (1990: 240-241)

[19] It is unfortunate that it must be admitted that this discourse on fear and crime is still, though predominantly in the US, a discourse closely tied to ethnicity and race, see Goldberg (2000), gender (see Worpole 1992: 64-65) and the fear or demonisation of youth (Cohen 1972; Collins & Kearns 2001). The youth question forms a substantial aspect of this thesis and will be returned to in depth in Chapter 3.

[20] In this sense the city centre was seen by many as colonised and dominated by the dangerous criminal, the poverty stricken young black male, and the young poor single mother (significantly an a-racial stereotype) (Hall 1998: 983-988). This view appeared unfortunately supported by statistics in both the 1960's, 1970's and again in the 1990's (ibid: 983-988) all of which exhibited variable periods of decline in the city centre and further raised fears of the spending public middle-classes of the city centres dangerous public space. This view appeared unfortunately supported by statistics in both the 1960's, 1970's and again in the 1990's (ibid: 983-988) all of which exhibited variable periods of decline in the city centre and further raised fears of the spending public middle-classes of the city centres dangerous public space.

[21] Both Landry (2000) and Hall & Hubbard (1998) emphasise the importance of *creativity* in urban management and urban experience as a way to combat the more economically disinterested aspects of entrepreneurialism in urban management. However neither are entirely clear as to what aspect of management and maintenance is required to be creative or if this creativity is limited to conceptual or conceived space, or can be expanded to the lived spatial practices at the level of the street.

[22] This links to more general, but related, discussions on the management of militarized spaces, zero tolerance policing and new forms of urban terror (Oc & Tiesdell 1997b; Atkinson 2003; Belinda & Helms 2003; Raco 2003; Coaffee 2004) and debates on rising in the fear of strangers and 'the Other' in public life (Davis 1998; Furedi 2002; Ruggiero 2003).

[23] The redefinitions of citizenship in policies used for the control of space by the failing Conservative and fledgling New Right policies of law & order can be linked as a starting point of this shift in the managerial perception of urban citizenship, paving the way for urban revanchism and commercial domination of managerial strategies and tactics (Fyfe 1995).

[24] Thought the term middle class is used here it is a general abridgement used in order to link into the references of previous research. The notion of class is not developed in this research in any depth, save reference to wealth graded class distinctions in the lifestyles of young people. Such notions of class as defined by the general registrars scale are limited and outdated. More work on this theme is forthcoming.

[25] see BIDS chapter 4

[26] This is a broad but inferential point made from an assessment of previous attempts to unpack minutiae of policy and social theory throughout the mid and late 20th century. For examples of urban architecture see Newman (Newman 1972). More research is needed to develop the connections of modernist architecture with urban decline, however the implementation of modernist designs is town and cities has consistently resulted over time in a decline of the perceived quality of life in the affected areas.

[27] Evans applies this notion to the priming effects of the urban renaissance strategy on public sector cultural and leisure 'businesses' but here it is driven through a spatial conceptualisation of the city as a whole. IN the sense that these activities push the public sector into a position of pump-priming private enterprise, essentially as a fore-runner of privatisation, this explicitly implies that urban renaissance strategies are not only commercially driven but part of w much wider entrepreneurial strategy of privatisation throughout governance as a whole.

[28] As noted in Amin et al, the report on design cannot be all encompassing, but as it is pitched as the foundation of the governments local urban redevelopment strategy and tactics for the 21st century, its centrality in this policy agenda demands a fine tuned review and criticism of such glaring oversights.

[29] See chapters 3.2 & 8 for details on the dual perception of youth as *dangerous* and *in danger*, *risky* and *at risk*. Linking to youth policy discussions.

[30] Linking to BIDS – see chapter 4. For more on Gentrification see Zukin in relation to Bryant park New York, Flusty in relation to downtown L.A and Mitchell in relation to People's Park Chicago (Mitchell 1995; Zukin 1995; Flusty 2000)

[31] Research into the consumer culture or society can generally be divided into three broad subject areas; the first being a symbolic and aesthetic approach (such as Featherstone 1991; Lury 1996). These researchers are generally more concerned with culture and look at the identity construction; individual meanings drawn from consumption of products and sometimes spaces and the *need* behind the consumer experience. The second is a more economic and material approach (Slater 1997), linked closely to classical meta-narratives of society. These approaches assess the theoretical and historical materialism and often link to global patterns in exchange and use-value (Glennie 1995, 1998; Edwards 2000: 28). The third approach looks at consumer spaces and architectures and how the production and use of these spaces feeds into the public culture of cities and the social practices within spaces of consumption. Such research often refers to malls (Davis 1999; Goss 1999), department stores or supermarkets (Falk & Campbell 1997:96-97) and theme parks (Sorkin 1992; Gottdeiner 1997; Hannigan 1998). However these three movements are becoming more integrated through descriptive and theoretical works that bring together the wider framework of consumption literature into a critique of consumerism at its very heart (Ritzer 1999; Edwards 2000; Gottdeiner 2001). For a general abridgement of the wider issues and history of research topics on, in and around consumption as an area of study Miller offers a polemic approach to debunking the myths of consumption theory (Miller 1995).

[32] George Evans manages to chart the general evolution of planning as both a discipline and a recognisable practice in urban regeneration through several stages, with a focus on cultural aspects of planning in the city. The cultural planning of cities has had different formulations, some believing the city was to be seen as a work of art in itself (Evans 2001: 19-24) and in opposition the dominant 20th century perspective of modernists architects and designers (Walker 1989: 29). Modernists were influential planners in the mid-20th century and saw the city as a rational network of processes that should order urban life as a mechanised system of rational consequences, they were given a free reign with disastrous consequences in many post-war cities (Larkham & Jones 1991; Oc & Tiesdell 1997a: 8-9). In Evans assessment of the growth of cultural planning, culture was seen typically in the realm of arts and the service provision and cultural '*amenities*', particularly in the UK. Historically then culture has been given secondary importance behind the economic aspects of urban life, perhaps why the retail revolution occurred many years before the cultural renaissance in planning:

'*In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, British urban planning and the arts parted company. The earlier view of the city as a work of art, a planned series of aesthetic experiences, was lost. The city became conceived as a functional unit, with emphasis more on efficiency and economic prosperity than on quality of life or the cultural aspirations of its citizens.*' (1993: quoted in Evans 2001: 84)

[33] There are other types of culture-led regeneration, however these cases have a much different approach to the stimulation of cultural industry as opposed to the imposition of an experience of heritage based on aesthetics and architecture but one of activity and creativity (Landry 2000). Approaches engaging with distinct movements and encouraging rather than marginalising pop cultural 'scenes' in regional capitals, through which enabling the co-option of capital from the south and the immense cultural capital of London and the popular cultural economy of the UK. An excellent example of this from the perspective of popular cultural industry can be found in Milestone (1996).

[34] Details of new managerial institutions arising from public-private partnership will be provided in Chapter 4.

[35] In both urban theory and consumer theory the themeing and branding of environments and experiences is becoming more and more important to understanding both space and society (Monbiot 2000: 1-4; Holt 2002). In many respects the themeing of the urban environment has become a process of finding synergies between the needs of the public and private, of civic governance (as urban renewal and economic growth) and of corporate investors (in influence in governance and increased consumer orientation of the city centre)

[36] The idea of 'conspicuous leisure' was coined by Thorstein Veblen (Veblen 1899) as a part of a conceptual triad between 'pecuniary emulation', 'conspicuous consumption' and the leisured consumption of exclusive activities and venues. In many ways this can still be applied to elements of tourism, exclusive country or sports clubs: '*Veblen shows how the premise of social positioning and status differentiation in American society depended on visible evidence of separation from the world of work, or conspicuous leisure*' (Gottdeiner 2001: 7-9).

Chapter 3

[1] The BCCS was the centre of cultural studies throughout the 20th century and was sadly disbanded in 2002/3. For a fuller review of these foundations see Bennet (Bennet 2000). These groups have also been highly criticised for a range of reasons, for a rounded description of the key criticisms see Hodkinson (2002: pp.9-33) also make reference to criticism of the BCCCS (Bennet 1999: 601-603), particularly with reference to the links made between symbolic appropriation of consumer products and the ideological resistance of working class youth, and the over emphasis on symboilism at the expense of the 'actual meaning' of consumption, and the ungendered approach to subculture (excluding girls from many early analyses) (Shurmer-Smith & Hannam 1994; Mitchell 2000). The Chigago school reference in particular is linked to their approach to youth and deviance, as a foundation of the understanding of difference as a deviation from normative moral understandings of social behaviour (add ref - Turner)

[2] Among issues researched by the BCCCS; an intense focus on youth and subculture as resistance to capitalism later integrating gender, ethnicity and other markers of difference due to criticism that these groups were overlooked; a critique of the media and its role in the operation of hegemony, democracy, society, and ideology, a strong focus on bottom-up ethnographies of working class cultures which emphasised style / semiotics linking to resistance debates. See Turner (1990: 70-74) for more details on the BCCCS.

[3] Also see Hodkinson's discussion of trendies (2002: pp.73-74). This is particularly significant in relation to Charver's discussed in chapter 8.

[4] See discussion of Homology below.

[5] This has developed in part from Distinction by Pierre Bordieu (Bordieu 1984) ... these issues are interesting theoretical points but are not developed here fully, see also Miles (2002: 21-24) for an overview of links into theories of structure and agency

[6] Hodkinson also links this to Bauman (Bauman 1992) in his study of Goth culture (Hodkinson 2002: 19) as does Gottdiener (Gottdeiner 2000a: 20-21)

[7] Though the complexity of music and the limitations of such the term 'taste' giving heavy connotative links to value and consumption and ignoring practice, performance and active interaction as aspects of music (Hennion 2001). Also acknowledged is the complexity of other indicators of preference and engagement with music beyond the simply 'musical' (Brake 1980)

[8] Original emphasis removed

[9] The idea of lifestyle shopping is still in development in consumer sociology for some details on how it can be linked thematically with this research see Hendy or Miles (Hendry et al. 1993; Miles 2003a)

[10] A wide range of issues can be connected through youth style and music to the understanding of youth as transgressing moral boundaries (to be discussed in public space as part of 3.2), for examples of this literature see: (Wicke 1990; Grossberg 1994; McClary 1994; Rose 1994)

[11] Polysemy is a term coined by Hebdige to refer to the multi-levelled perception of symbols, each symbol is not seen to generate one meaning but in fact to generate a potentially infinite amount of differing interpretations (Hebdige 1979: 117). This has been criticised for over signifying the symbolic. The danger then becomes getting 'lost in a forest of symbols' (Cohen 1972& 1987 / 3rd edition: xvi cited in Bennet 2000: 22), however the emphasis on 'the process of meaning construction rather than the final product' (Hebdige 1979: 118) lends itself to the investigation of perception as a sequence of moments or process of interpreting lifestyles rather than as a static and inflexible occurrence.

[12] Essentially we all play different roles and take on different identities at different times, i.e. student-teacher, mother-daughter, customer-employee, owner-thief, friend-friend. In this debate we are focusing on one level of the diverse social worlds of youth tribes, their public representational spaces, spatial practices surrounding them and the effect of representations of space on both of the above in public (this ignores the home, school and work as layers of youth identity and emphasises the public above others).

[13] For example see Valentine et al (Valentine 1998)

[14] Hegemony applied in this way is not a simple negotiation between the powerful (i.e. managers) and the weak (i.e. youth) it encapsulates the *micro* and *meso* level negotiations that occur in situ between actors within space moment to moment, alongside and as part of the reflexive moments of reactive perception that underpin cognitive encounters in public.

[15] An application of the subaltern in this debate arises from its relevance for the development of a more realisable process and strategy of change (or revolution) through the processes of negotiation and confrontation that underpin Gramsci's concept of hegemony. The main problem with using this

language to define the agency of youth cultures in urban space is the inherent oppositionality that it assumes on behalf of the minority group in question. This is the same pitfall that was laid before traditional cultural studies in the mid-20th century and one that it has never satisfactorily addressed. The distinction must then be made over the course of this research between active and passive oppositionality in the behaviour of youth. This should give an indication of whether any opposition to the normative spatial values which are imposed on public space is an explicit form of 'resistance through rituals', simply inherent in youth activity or a side affect of the angst that drives teenage social relations. Whilst these often appear passive, research traditionally links such activities to the contested use-value of commercial environments (Vanderbeck & Johnson Jr. 2000)

[16] For links to participation as hegemonic in nature see also Jessop (1997c), refer also to chapter 3.2 for participation and mistrust, and to chapter 4 for participation and urban renaissance

[17] There are several distinct youth tribal cultures that can be brought forth with specific needs and styles. The appreciation of youth culture given here will be general to the group of youth as a whole. Some specific references will be made to contemporary youth tribes, but this will be used here to elaborate the general points made about youth. The case study (in chapters 7-9) will focus on specific groups in Newcastle upon Tyne in more detail.

[18] See chapter 2.1 for more details

[19] (new management groups / cultural intermediaries / VCS, see chapter 4)

[20] The general theme of Durkheim's approach is what is being used in this respect rather than the philosophical treatise he presented, for a basic account of Durkheim's theory and of the *conscience collective* refer to Craib (1997), Lukes (1973) and Giddens (1978). Durkheim's conscience collective was a rigid system connecting generations unchanging, separate from the individual consciousness but born through the correlation of these distinct individual minds with each other in the construction of a 'moral code'. It is important to acknowledge that Durkheim's approach was mechanical, and as such has limitations that I seek to eliminate here by appropriating the conscience collective (as a concept) and integrating it into the operation of Lefebvre's theory, the conceptual triad and 'representations collective' (Lukes 1973: 9-12) are connected and interpenetrate each other, this moves towards an evolution of personal theory towards providing a representational *and* spatial moral code.

[21]The gendered separation of men and women in public activity based interaction was still distinct until the 20th century. Through the revolution in political inclusion, and consumer environments women were emancipated from the domestic-private sphere and given a pseudo-public form for interaction and activity in new enlarged city centre consumer environments: '*Like the promenade (Scobey 1992) stores opened 'the public' to women safely without threatening men's public power*' (Glennie 1995: 186). The issue of women and safety in public is a key to the connection of these issues to the public spaces of the contemporary city and the issue of gendered fear, and fear in general, in public space will be returned to throughout the thesis.

[22] An excellent example of how these changes in perception and identity construction amongst individuals and the alteration of the *conscience collective* in time between historical epochs can be extrapolated from the comparison of '*the protestant ethic*' (Weber 1992 Ed.) and '*the romantic ethic*' (Campbell 1987) as foundations for society at different stages of history.

[23] Though herein have used landscape to emphasise the spatial nature of these systems the use of codes is as valid, it simply in my opinion over-privileges the systematisation of these processes which occur dynamically and randomly according to context and situation. Thus within the unpredictability of urban public space the likelihood of 'unfair' or undemocratic consequences are increased. In an ideal world were the codes to be aligned there would be no conflict, whereas landscapes change with time reflecting this unpredictability analogically more accurately.

[24]This relates to both self knowledge (personal identity) and the perceived knowledge of others (appraisal of others identity based upon symbolic indicators and expressive activities occurring through time). This is clearly recognisable in the public reaction to large youth groups in public space of a distinct subcultural identity. Punks for example were famous for inciting 'fear' or 'moral panic' from the wider ranging conservative demographic in the 1970s and 80's England (Hebdige 1979: 87-88).

[25] This function of negotiation serves to give some power to the citizens of a democratic nation and enforce some level of accountability on those in power. This is an ageist mechanism in many respects and does not function in the same way for young people as it does for adults.

[26] The approach to youth taken in academic discourse has several layers and is not always related to culture or consumption studies, there is a large and growing body of literature that includes youth displacement and poverty (Furlong & Cartmel 1997; MacDonald 1997; McDonald & Marsh 2001) expressly looking at the disadvantaged and the effects of government policy on youth in a largely political and economic sense. In this study this literature is secondary to research assessing the reaction

of media and governance institutions, and the public en masse, to particular movements and subcultures of youth subcultural expression. As stated above: '*What has persevered... is an image of youth as a problem; what has been lost over the decades is the image of youth as a progressive class, and as an asset to the nation.*' (Widdicombe & Wooffitt 1995: 14) See also a challenge to this approach in Miles (Miles 2003a).

[27] Also see chapter 3.2 for more details

[28] And further a period of transition experiencing radical and sustained change throughout the 20th century (Furlong & Cartmel 1997: 8-9). This is returned to below and recurs as a theme in the research. The perception of transition thus becomes important to the research as the narrative progresses.

[29] Amongst the research on risk is a raft of small scale to macro preojects, for detauils see the enclosed references (Beck & Willis 1995; Furlong & Cartmel 1997; Furedi 2002; Hier 2002; Kelly 2003; Scoon & Bynner 2003) see lupton for an overview of risk theory (Lupton 1999)

[30] Perhaps the most important panics of the 1980's and 1990's in this context were those that brought about both distinct changes in the normative morality of the public and reflected those changes in legislation feeding into operational tactics for the management of the public. Much of the 1980's and 1990's research was focused on the media fuelled moral panic over the Rave, Acid House as an oppositional or subaltern culture, the strong links of that tribe with Ecstasy (Redhead 1997; Hier 2002; Hill 2002), and the repossession of 'new cultural spaces' for the pursuit of activity based spectacular displays (Hil & Besant 1999: 45-46; Miles 2003b, 2003a). This was further exacerbated by a sudden string of drug related deaths at raves and nightclubs over this period (Lovatt 1996: 158-160). One key response to this and other issues of public order linked to protesters and riots in the 1980's were the 'Criminal Justice and Public Order' acts which gave policemen search, seizure and detention capabilities in private residences and stop and search capability on the strength of individual officers suspicions. This redefinition of citizenship (Fyfe 1995) arguably led directly to the commercialisation of the Rave and Acid House culture which in turn enforced environmental constraints upon these groups and by removing their natural social space (that of the appropriated field, warehouse etc.) pushed them into high street clubs and commercial premises. Thus the moral panic stimulated a cultural re-appropriation and assimilation of the alternative lifestyle and value system into a commercially viable culture.

Chapter 4

[1] This will be returned to in the analytical debate in chapter 10

[2] **Regional Development Agencies (RDAs)** - Coordinate '*inward investment, site and property development, urban and rural development, business growth, cluster development, innovation, e-business and ICT initiatives, employment, skills and education development, sustainable development, social inclusion and community development.*' (One North East 2003b)

Regional Economic Strategies (RES) – Blueprint documents for the social and economic development of the region, authored by the regional development agency in the area. These have begun to become followed by Regional Action Plans (RAPs) which help lay out the strategic delivery plans for the attainment targets set in the RES.

Regional Cultural Consortiums (RCCs) – '*Our role is to ensure that culture and creativity have a strong voice in the region and that they play a full and coherent part in contributing to increasing prosperity and enjoyment of life...*' (Culture North East 2003a)

Regional Cultural Strategies (RCS) – Similar to the RES the RCS is a blueprint for the cultural and social development of the region emphasising the role of each regions rich cultural heritage and distinctiveness, plus the possibilities in using this to promote and regenerate the region in line with the RES.

These initial institutional changes to regional governance have been furthered by the expression of a committed interest in the UK towards the devolution of parliamentary power into Regional Assemblies. This alteration to the political fabric of the UK has been stalled by procedures in the House of Commons and an agreement that if this is to developed and implemented then there is the need for both an expression of interest from the populous and if such exists a referendum on the implementation of such agencies for each Regional Assembly.

Urban Regeneration Companies (URCs) - '*Urban Regeneration Companies (URCs) have been promoted by the government and established by local partners, in order to achieve a focused, integrated regeneration strategy for key towns and cities. They produce a powerful and coherent single vision for the future of their entire area and then co-ordinate its implementation.*' (English Partnerships 2003). URCs are a key influence in the policy generation at its root and take different forms in different cities. Their key role is to encourage development of public-private partnerships or LSPs and find methods of using them to deliver initiative based urban regeneration. This approach has been encouraged by the DTLR (now the ODPM)[2], and national government and is funded in part by the English Partnerships National Regeneration Agency in partnership with local authorities and RDAs. URCs are specifically set on a series of time focused (10-15 years as standard) regenerative goals, as such they are meant to be temporary boosters to the regeneration of the economy not permanent additions to local urban management .

Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) - These aim to '*bring together the local authority, all service providers (such as schools, the police and health and social services), local businesses, the full range of community groups and the voluntary sector.*' (O.D.P.M 2000: 34). LSPs are responsible for the Community Strategy, monitoring local performance against national targets, coordinating site specific projects with local neighbourhoods. They typically focus on housing areas and deprived neighbourhoods but also aim to solidify existing partnerships and bring together diverse groups for regenerative purposes.

[3] For more on the evolution of place marketing and 'selling cities' see Ward (1998)

[4] This was discussed in chapter 2.2

[5] The Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions (DTLR) now the Office of the Deputy Prime-minister (ODPM), Department of Culture, Media & Sport (DCMS), Department of Trade and Industry (DTI)

[6] Town Improvement Zones (TIZ) / Town Improvement Schemes (TIS)were the original incarnation of BIDs in the UK

[7] Then intricacies of this will be unpacked in relation to the empirical case study in chapter 6-9

[8] See 2.2 for more details on policy, chapter 10.2/3 for links to wider frameworks of urban renaissance in both theory and research.

[9] See 3.48-3.53 of '*Our Towns and Cities: The Future - Delivering an Urban Renaissance*' (O.D.P.M 2000)

[10] Though extensive research exists on transitions from education to work place, unemployment and poverty see for examples the following (Furlong & Cartmel 1997; Pearce 1998; MacDonald & Marsh 2001; MacDonald et al. 2001; Ferguson 2002; Scoon & Bynner 2003)
[11] See Lefebvre (1974 – also refer to chapter 1) and Cloke & Jones (2004: 312)
[12] This can be extended to include other spheres of social life and experience including the position and authority of citizenship in the home, the school as well as the public; though this is not a central concern to this research which is focussed on the public incarnation of youth.
[13] For a full abridgement of CCTV research see Norris & Armstrong (1999) and McCahill (2000)
[14] Even if the operators are often removed physically from the space (via the technology) the policies of spatial maintenance they enforce through their 'eye-in-the-sky' distinct affects upon both the reflexive morality of the space and the conceptual production of the lived reality. Observation is the initial moment of perception and thus it can be supposed that spatial practices of surveillance have begun to inform the moral regulation of youth transgression. This of course is from the skewed conceptual understanding of the 'appropriate' given in guidelines for operation of a surveillance system.
[15] Here abstract space is an implicit representation of the domination inherent in hegemonic relations, but also an ethereal representation in terms of the 'formant', a 'trilectic' composite of abstract space that combines the '*utility*' of space (in political and social terms), the '*visual*', or the '*ocularcentric*' nature of the symbolic in space '*through which writing and the visual surface of the world are mistaken for the truth of space*', and the '*phallic*' a typically egocentric male representation of the paternal domination in most realms of public life, represented for Lefebvre by the skyscraper (ibid. 1998: 24-26).
[16] Lefebvre also uses abstract space to cover this coding and decoding process in relation to knowledge (25-26), conceptual triad (trilectic) (3-41), creative identity of place through the production of space (73-74), textual reading of space (signification) (160-168), scent (198-199), Gestural systems of communication (214-216), monumentality (220-223), sexuality (310) and other themes throughout the production of space (Lefebvre 1974).

Chapter 5

[1] An example of this blurred boundary can be seen in the difficultly experienced when separating the strategic policies of a local government institution (e.g. city council) from the national agenda of reform (White papers and planning guidance standards), however whilst the national agenda does not concern this very locally specific study strongly it does underpin the entire proposition of the research, as such attention must be paid to wider issues beyond the contextual boundary of the phenomenon under study.

[2] A fuller empirical description of the network follows in chapter 6. It could have been included here but is a much more empirically contextual in its address and setting, and has been placed as an introduction to the empirical chapters to enable a contextual transition from methodology to data.

[3] This includes significant 'go-alongs', see below.

[4] For examples of questions in structured and unstructured interviews refer to the appendices

[5] See Also for an approach to action research on organisations Huxham (Huxham 2003)

[6] Another concern is that the view of the city council presented in this research, coming as it does from a social theorist with little policy background or experience, will be a disjointed and poorly resourced theoretical interpretation of a living institution, dry and without vigour. I have done my best to represent the dynamism of these interplaying relationships, and though I have tried to maintain a lively narrative at times the material itself is somewhat unwieldy. This is a reflection of the bureaucratic system as much as of the writing but the reader must in the end decide.

[7] At times over the course of this research I personally have been threatened several times and attacked resulting in a criminal charge of assault and theft, by a gang of young men who fit a specific collective distinction discussed in this research. These tensions are very real lived experiences of the everyday for many young people in the city centres across the UK.

[8] Any oversights on my part in terms of interviews that should have been conducted and representatives that would have better developed the study were concessions made due to time considerations and the simple fact that the intricacies of bureaucracy create many problems for both the researcher and the researched.

[9] Whilst this brings forth another set of questions around the integrity of online data, this is not a key issue in this research. For other examples of online data and the relevance of this to subcultural connection between individuals and groups refer to Hodkinson (2002, 2005: 138)

[10] Place is used in this context to denote the location as a city (i.e. Newcastle upon Tyne as a Place). Space is used to denote the public spaces within the city centre (i.e. OES as a Space).

Chapter 6

[1] These plans were never fully realised though elements of this style remain to this day in parts of the city centre.
[2] Though this article primarily references conservation issues it bring out extremely well the tensions in managerial culture in Newcastle upon Tyne over the second half of the 20th century, thus justifying its inclusion here.
[3] See the city councils website for full details of the Grainger Town project
http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/grainger
See next chapter 7.1 for details on the nature and form of this in specific strategic representations of space in depth (CCAP).
[4] Details of these are linked into the footnotes introducing key agencies in chapter 4.1.
[5] The key areas of focus are divided into 5 themes. These are; ask people what they need, share information, draw up their plans together, carry out projects together, have shared goals. Significantly this alludes to participation but more so to partnership working. This is an embodiment of entrepreneurial urban government at the local level.
[6] CCM was able to actively participate in these processes with great success, see chapter 9 for more details. Newcastle has since the institution of CCM won regional and national 'City in bloom' awards and has been awarded the 'safer cities' award for improved city centre security. This is also linked to the growth of CCTV in the city centre. CCM also helped to develop funding for the 'Blue Carpet' other redevelopments and marketing initiatives throughout the Capital of Culture 2008 bid.
[7] Planned by Dobson and built by Grainger, the extension to Blackett Street, as it was described, began in 1826 by clearing an overgrown orchard. Completed in 1930 the three sided square has only one side remaining (the East). The North and West were demolished in the 1960's town centre reconstruction to form the outer walls of the Eldon Square Shopping Centre. The three sides of the original square were centred-around an ornamental shrubbery. The North side which faces Blackett Street contained 39 first floor bays; the remaining sides each having 27 all had cast iron balconies and contained 10 houses. The shrubbery was replaced in 1923 with the current design and war memorial. The Memorial 1923 paid for by public subscriptions is Grade II listed and is made from Granite, Portland Stone and Bronze.
In modern times the square serves as a meeting place and a place of relaxation for all town centre shoppers, workers and revellers. (http://mysite.wanadoo-members.co.uk/newcastlewalks/northumberland.htm)
[8] The Stone that the pedestal of the memorial is made is taken from Kenton, an outlying area near Newcastle, now a suburb of the city. This rock was allegedly used in the building of the quayside docks hauled by prisoners in earlier days of the city. The memorial was inaugurated in 1917 as a 1st world war memorial but has become synonymous with all the struggles of the 20th century.
[9] D&T committee minutes

Chapter 7

[1] Though the focus is on Old Eldon Square, this space does not exist in isolation and reference to other public spaces within the city centre will be made to further illustrate general trends of governance where necessary.

[2] The term subgroups is used in this manner to allow for a certain ambiguity to be given to the hierarchal structure of NCC, it is less important where these subgroup lie in the structural hierarchy of the council than the fact that they are distinct and separate within a highly bureaucratic system of spatial and social management. That distinction allows us to break down the homogenous isotopic concept of public space that governs the general direction of top-down entrepreneurial urban management, such as that offered in the CCAP, into conceptual heterotopias without being sucked into a hierarchical debate around local government structure. The issue of power and how this is exercised in local government does come into play due to the remits and tactics of each of these groups in achieving the actual changes that they want top see happen to the plans and the physical fabric of the city, thus where that power resides. Though this is not central to this research it is an interesting side discussion that power in local government, in this case, appears to rest with a relatively small group of influential senior officers, and it is this elite that dominate the approval of changes to the physical environment, many of the other civil and civic officers simply deal with the maintenance and organisational elements of day-to-day operations. For a discussion of power in the planning context in a case study form, relating specifically to power and democracy in Denmark but addressing these issues thematically see Bent Flyberg's narrative case study in 'Rationality and Power' (Flyvbjerg 1998) and other work (Flyvbjerg 2001).

[3] Realistically one must admit that the job with which an officer or agent of management is tasked is not always the job they do, some key actors forge their own role within the institutions of management as they see the need for each task coming forth, this makes pinning down the key actors difficult. One must often rely on informal snowballing brought froth in interviews to develop the intricate nature of links between actors across institutional boundaries in order to develop the informal and formal structures of management in of form of cogent tangent, each within the other.

[4] It can, in fact, be argued that the complexities of managerial relationships are such that NCC can be seen as a subcultural tribe in its own right. As it is not possible to show every single actor it is the strategic policies and tactical practices of key subgroups that are to be developed first. This is begun with an example of a key strategic policy affecting all of these subgroups. Giving a broad context of conceptual policy this sits alongside the conceptual approaches discussed above (chapter 6); thus the minutiae of each subgroup discussed subsequently are given a more distinct reference to the broader 'company line' held in these strategies.

[5] The presentation of key actors in the management of OES in the first part of this chapter develops both a clearer picture of the machinery of public management and introduces the perception of users as a thematic link to the discussion of youth to follow in chapter 8.

[6] The area is dominated by the physical presence of the Eldon Square Shopping centre which covers approximately 40% of the retail space in the city centre and extends into Grainger Town, Northumberland Street and Percy Street. The border of this retail core also encompasses the smaller Monument Mall on Blackett Street, near to OES, (for more details see 7.2)

[7] Seen broadly as the displacement of lower income demographics from an urban area as a result of redevelopment or regeneration which can be seen as targeting higher income groups.

[8] Whilst these are important areas of planning they are often over-privileged at the expense of other areas of discourse, less controversial or noticeable in public discourse but equally important for a functioning democracy.

[9] For the representations of space as conceptual space see chapter 8, for the perception of spaces and their users see 9.2, for the interplay between these in practical actions and responses see chapter 9.

[10] Where possible the strategic policies which are closest to them will be connected to broad managerial tactics, but in depth discussion of tactical practices will be conducted through specific examples in chapter 9

[11] Enterprise, Environment & Culture (EEC) is currently undergoing restructuring as is much of NCC at the time of writing, and may be re-entitled the Regeneration Division with some structural reorganisation of its subgroups. At this time the EEC already has a broad management remit, as do all directorates, and covers issues such as the development and implementation of strategic plans. Particularly in the area of culture many of the strategic plans have been influenced by this directorate. There are several sub-divisions to the directorate but there are two that are key to the management of

OES. The first of these is the Planning and Transportation Division (PTD), as linked to the regeneration of the square (planning proposals etc) and its conceptual identity as a locus of local transport systems and traffic artery through the city centre. The second is the Arts and Culture Division. This subgroup has more links to the cultural economic plans at the strategic level of concept management; its influence will be linked to entrepreneurialism, stakeholder partnership and the cultural planning agenda in 7.2.

[12] This assertion was widely made in interviews and informal discussions around council policy during data collection.

[13] See CCAP for emphasis. Though there is ambiguity in these terms they refer specifically to the sanitary appearance of the environment, minimalising of any potential for the perception of danger or disorder by consumers and the ease with which the area can be accessed (car parking, public transport etc.). Aspects of this will be explored as we progress through the narrative.

[14] The bus stops on both sides of Blackett Street create tensions with the use of OES. At peak times (rush hours in the morning, after school hours, after work hours and at weekends) Blackett Street can become blocked by people waiting for buses to the suburbs and surrounding area. The footpath running adjacent to the southern edge of the grassy area of OES is thus both a thoroughfare for pedestrians, a gateway into the city centre for those arriving by bus and a waiting area for those preparing to depart, and is under the management of PTD.

As such there is quite a lot of pressure on the use of this space which must through the immediacy of their connection spill over into the use of OES. At peak times people can be seen using the barriers around the square as *ad hoc* seating and clogging the pedestrian thoroughfare east to west. It also puts more pressure on the recreational use of the space forming a significant barrier to the flow of pedestrians into or out of the square at key times of day.

[15] For more details on the strategic planning of OES see 7.2

[16] More on the actions affecting the regeneration of OES and the design-led emphasis of this subgroup will be developed in relation to the commercial redevelopment plans (7.2) and the specific actions and tactics of PTD affecting OES (chapter 9).

[17] Though these developments were funded by lottery and central government funding and fall into the geographical remit of Gateshead, due to the marketing of Newcastle-Gateshead as a conjoined urban conurbation these are often associated with the city council of Newcastle upon Tyne. This is limited to a brief thematic representation of urban redevelopment practices in this context.

[18] This was mentioned both by representatives of the council after the city lost the bid, particularly Ward councillors (see below for details of this grievance), and 3rd sector organisations who are free to be more critical of council policy than officers who generally are limited to towing the 'company line'.

[19] NCC brought in private contractors for both the initial design work and the statement of community involvement on the bus concourse project. Both companies are based in Newcastle, Price-Waterhouse-Coopers and Nathaniel-Lichfield & Partners. See *consultation.*

[20] **Leisure Services Section** acts within the interplay of control/supply and within the conceptual spatial production of management presented here much closer to ground level than the top down forms of management discussed above. The notion that public space is leisurely is at the heart of many of the strategic policy documents produced by the city council. Leisure Services is linked to this aspect of conceptual management is a broad range of ways, appearing to have less impact on decision making than PTD (even though it sits up one level in a breakdown of the council hierarchy). Its most direct links into space are through its staff, its newly emergent strategic policies and its diverse remit of managerial tactics for managing space. In this sense it may be one of the most efficient subgroups in NCC: "*The Leisure Services Division seeks to enhance the quality of life for all communities and individuals in the City through the provision of sporting, recreational, social, cultural, environmental and learning opportunities that are sustainable, accessible and appropriate to identified needs.*" (http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/cwleisure.nsf/a/leisurehome?opendocument) This is divided up into several thematically specific subgroups with managerial responsibilities, furthering the development of a bureaucratic and hierarchical institution. ***For PCS see*** **http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/cw_pacs.nsf/**

[21] This includes both central and peripheral green spaces such as; The Town Moor, Leazes Park, Exhibition Park, Stadium Park, Charlotte Square, Old Eldon Square and many other open green spaces and fringes (e.g. across the edges of many paths, plazas and streets).

[22] Green Spaces Strategy Team

[23] The Parks and Green Spaces Strategy and other open space related policy documents into which PCS shave input are developed with other departments such as City Design (largely architectural design) and Neighbourhood Services (urban maintenance).

[24] See chapter 3 & 8

[25] Despite the short comings of the PGSS as a strategic document the approaches taken tactically by PCS reflect the desire of this subgroup to treat OES as a mixed-use public space. Officers were aware of key tensions such as the youth and businesses and also were open about the changes to access and use over-time, between day and night and at 'peak' footfall times.

[26] A discussion of this will be included in the interplay of youth and management chapter 9

[27] Communicative barriers within the council between the various subgroups cause problems for PCS as well. PCS tends to operate on its own where connections to PYS and PTD may help them to holistically address spatial issues. Further within PCS a lack of training in broader council policies have been suggested as problematic in the PGSS (N.C.C 2003a: 52). Clearer information across all officers on key contacts and their roles and responsibilities in other subgroups is needed to better coordinate 'joined up' strategic policy with managerial tactics *in situ*.

[28] The party political local government representatives are accountable to national government for the delivery of management, maintenance and services. 3 councillors in each ward are responsible to the citizens within that ward for the delivery of services and the maintenance of infrastructure within their geographical area. Newcastle is, during 2000-2004, undergoing a review of these wards which are reset periodically due to a number of factors, such as population drift, to ensure effective representation of the people in the geographical area of each ward.
Understandably appreciation of policies and tactics of NCC vary from high praise to staunch criticism depending on the political orientation of the councillor. There are two dominant political parties. Newcastle council has historically been dominated by Labour councillors, but recently the Liberal Democrats have been gaining control of many of the wards in the city. These two political philosophies engage with the populous of the city in different ways, whilst Labour is seen to develop plans then offer internally set options to the community, the liberal councillors prefer to ask for suggestions then develop these suggestions into plans for consultation. The Conservative party have never held much power in the north east the impact of UKIP has yet to be fully understood, but recent trends show a steady liberal increase in the largely 2 party power struggle.

[29] The central ward is known as Moorside. Problems have arisen in the management of the city centre for the ward councillors as a result of the Eldon Retail core overlapping the edges of other central wards, dividing the ability of Ward councillors to focus issues in the city centre in a coherent manner. Efforts to address these issues have seen recent redrawing of the ward boundaries across the whole city but one of those areas most affected is the city centre. I spoke to ward councillors from a number of central wards but focused mainly on the Moorside ward as the boundaries for this area covered OES, the OES Mall and as far as the civic centre and the blue carpet, covering most of the key public spaces with which this research is concerned. In 2004/5 the ward boundaries were redrawn dividing Moorside and the city centre as a whole between Westgate and Wingrove, further complicating this issue for the future. In the city centre the councillors have a particularly difficult task as the residential population is now split between these wards but also due to the low duration of most residencies is a predominantly rented accommodation market.

[30] It is important to note that a critique of institutional structure is not the lead theme in this research; however it is an integral thread within the assessment of conceptual space through strategic policy. Understanding these divides will help to see the nature by which the production of conceptual space is subject to negotiation thus enabling a skewing of the conceptual agenda towards commercial concepts of space.

[31] Though it should be noted that Newcastle City Council has an internal Design Department linked to design and development of specific planning schemes; however, in the case of OES in particular the Design group applied along with private companies for the design competition on the OES and Bus Concourse redevelopment within the specific brief supplied by Newcastle City Council (PTD) and were unsuccessful.

[32] The voluntary sector = the third sector. The service is operated on an area by area basis across the city by 5 Area Teams covering the city of Newcastle upon Tyne. City-wide Team - based at Civic Centre , Administrative Team - based at Civic Centre, Outer West/North Area - based at West Denton Community Association , Inner West Area - based at Mill Lane Youth Centre, East Area - based at Heaton Complex, Plus dedicated Special Needs services and schemes

[33] Essentially there are two elements to the conceptual approach to young people in the city taken by this group that operates on an basis of people's needs with little reference to space, this aspect of youth provision is largely left to PCS.
Play services are related to delivering good quality activities for youth in the form of play groups and youth centres, where playful activities can occur. These are however almost exclusively in the suburbs of the city and are primarily initiative driven. Initiative driven means to imply that there is a specific

remit, budget and time-scale to the project and that youth provision of this type is a series of relatively unlinked activity based ventures, such as museum visits, after school care services, etc. The suburban location of these venues means that this has taken as back seat in my investigation into PYS though the quality and amount of play spaces in the city centre is a bone of contention, where there is very little to no infra-structure in place in terms of play environments. The resultant culture of youths 'hanging around' in the city centre's public space is discussed below (chapter 8 & 9).
Youth services are quite different, relating more to support services (housing, benefits assistance, confidential advice etc.) and official consultation with young people on city council policy affecting young people. The perception of youth in this context is vital for understanding the orientation of NCC's managerial tactics targeting youth use of public space. The youth service is where '*improvement of direct dialogue*' with youth is most necessary. Barriers in communication slowing this dialogue with young people have arisen, in part due to prior efforts at developing an infrastructure for involving youth in the hegemonic processes of governance and increasing civic awareness and citizenship.

[34] The structure of PYS as a two tiered service makes its location in the hierarchal and directorate based organisation of the council is problematic as elements of these services fall into many areas. PYS were previously part of the Community and Housing Directorate which has been undergoing substantial structural changes in the councils ongoing hierarchal reshuffles since 2002, 'youth related housing' has been added to the 'Arms Length Management Option' (ALMO) which is set up more like a trust than as a element of a directorate. Most of the 'community' issues have been moved into Regeneration which sits in the Economic Development section. PYS are at the start of 2004 still managed through an 'interim arrangement' with Leisure Services (subgroup of the Neighbourhood Services directorate). No firm decisions have been made about what future possibilities could be for a permanent location of PYS. This is however an area requiring and undergoing review as it has received low ratings from OFSTED reviews in several previous assessment of NCC as a whole. There are likely links to several areas where PYS may be beneficially integrated, such as: Education, Regeneration and possibly a more permanent arrangement within Neighbourhood Services. As most of the services delivered by PYS are cross cutting this is a particularly difficult organisational problem, however current legislation suggests and recommends that a dedicated directorate should be kept in place for PYS at the local level (and that this should be in forced by 2005) (ref: PYS Officer Interview). Further complications come from the contradictory information available on this service. Despite the assurances of several youth workers and council officers on the current location and role of PYS internet information dated 2003 still claims that PYS are in fact part of the Arts in Education Service, a subgroup of Arts & Culture Division in the Enterprise, Environment & Culture Directorate (http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/artscult.nsf/a/artsedu).

[35] Interviews with ward councillor in the spring of 2003 referred to this predominantly informally and with tentative knowledge of where these consultations had taken place, or by whom they were conducted. Though one claimed to have seen feedback from the youth parliament on this issue none could be found in council records. Further research may be able to uncover more detail on this strand of enquiry.

[36] Social Demographics: Skate Vs. BMX Vs. Blades Goths Vs. Charvers

[37] This is implicitly the way operations appear to have developed but further understanding of the intricacies of local police structure lie beyond the remit of this research.

[38] Our concern is with the day-time economy for research into the night-time economy and security issues related to the 'party city' refer to Chatterton (2000)
In OES this is limited to CSC Security, who are responsible to CSC for the maintenance of order on the adoptive highways within the boundaries of the mall (this includes Eldon Walk). These are distinguished between in this fashion because of the distinct differences in their managerial tactics and the remit of their functions. Between these two broad sets of public and private security most of the city centre is both watched and patrolled almost 24 hours a day

[39] Thus the key priorities and objectives in the strategic planning of policing the city centre taken from the annually produced strategic policing plan are; Citizen Focus, Reducing Crime, Investigating Crime, Promoting Public Safety, Providing Assistance, Resource Use.
At the strategic level members of the city council, including several councillors from the ward and cabinet level, officers of various directorates and subgroups and the CCM all sit together on the city centres Crime Prevention Panel to coordinate the efforts of the council and the police at the strategic level. In a practical sense the main liaison between the city council and police is in relation to crime issues, the social problems of the night-time economy (arising from Newcastle's reputation as 'the party city') and to issues around the leisure industry, such as the licensing of premises for alcohol sales, as well as the Local Authorities for public or environmental health aspects of public houses and night-

clubs. Thus the views of the police on issues of safety are integrated into many of the strategic policies produced by NCC; but the main thrust of the police strategies deals with the tactics of policing and come from national government.

[40] These tactics are best represented in chapter 9 where we discuss the impact of policing on patterns of use around OES, and returning to theory (10) through the conceptual redefinition of appropriate activity and behaviour in public space through rhetoric's of the anti-social in the interplay of public perception and policing policy.

[41] taken from the annually produced strategic policing plan

[42] See CCM (7.2), as a marketing tactic of CCM this aims to attract more consumers away from other spaces of consumption, such as the Metrocentre (exurban mall) or Kingston Park (suburban retail park). The Safer Shopping Award is often given to private mall centres, in this case Newcastle City Centre has fulfilled the criteria for this award, this is an indication that the city centre may be becoming more privatised as a result of increasing the levels of security offered in transitional and public spaces, and shopping focussed streets.

[43] Where this is not true is in licensing of premises, evening leisure and the night-time economy where close ties exist in the promotion and policing of drinking in the city centre.

[44] Further to this each subgroup of the council has its own strategic policy documents, and where they do not are currently formulating these documents to offer best practice guidelines for managerial tactics of spatial management and to coordinate their individual efforts with those of other departments.

[45] Again no mention of hegemonic consultation practices were raised in the DEMOS report, this is an area where Newcastle City Council has previously had problems or has fallen short of recommended actions. This will be discussed again, but for now the lack of a consultation or hegemonic emphasis in the report on the Role and Relevance of the city centre is supposing in a document that emphasises the plurarality of cultures necessary for vibrancy in the city. One wonders how this can be achieved without talking to them?!

[46] **ENTRENEURIALISM DRIVEN BY CULTURE & ECONOMY** (see chapter 6) High land values and perpetual demand for commercial growth in the city centre. This suggests an increasing potential for tensions to develop between different types of activity in entrepreneurial management strategies / strategic policy documents. The links between culture as a tool in economic strategy are established in entrepreneurial strategies and policies and are evident in some of the investment heavy flagship developments (also in public-private partnership to be discussed in the next section), this is tempered by some successful youth related developments to be discussed later (such as the skate park), but these raise other issues about economy and its dominance in activity based policies.

[47] Abbreviated as CCM it is the intention that the reader is comfortable with using which ever version of the acronym they are comfortable with in the context of the surrounding sentence. This is inferentially equated with both, City Centre Management in general and with the Newcastle City Centre manager specifically.

[48] similar in many ways to the CCSM (9.1)

[49] A part of these activities is also in raising awareness amongst the residents of the city as an entity, a location and a theme. Newcastle itself has a proud Geordie heritage and cultural identity that has been promoted and seized upon. From the Capital of Culture Bid through to the street flags and other marketing activities, including the upcoming Culture 10 and Newcastle Pride advertising campaigns '*I'll go back to the basics if you have an attractive city as far as the floral displays go, if you have a city that's regularly kept clean that tends to, I don't know, develop a sense of pride by the local community which leads me to say that our new strap line is 'City Centre Pride' that's what we're bringing in very shortly*'

[50] The farmers market is a collection of local produce arranged in a series of 10-20 stalls around the top of Grainger Street below Grey's Monument. This happens on the 1st Friday of every month for one afternoon and is strictly monitored. Though there are other stalls with more permanent lots leased across the city centre (e.g. the fruit stall at the bottom of Northumberland street)

[51] Though Flusty is an American researcher on Los Angeles, the main thematic thrust of his research and the tensions raised lead this being an appropriate reference at this stage. No comparison is implied through this reference between the American and English / UK situation of public space management or use but simply the exclusionary nature of increasing the rules applied to it, I.e. regulation tightens the moral code applied to a space, thus altering the moral landscape.

[52] Interview with CSC centre manager Autumn 2002

[53] Interview with CSC centre manager Autumn 2002

[54] Interview with CSC centre manager Autumn 2002

[55] Interview with CSC centre manager Autumn 2002

[56] Interview with senior PTD representative
[57] Changes in the recording of crime statistics gave an inflated impression of rises in crime; this has since been balanced with the next years report to show an overall reduction in crime across Newcastle, and particularly of theft and property crime in the city centre. This is balanced by a slight rise in violent and personal crime, often implicitly linked to binge drinking. However these are not key concerns in this research and here the focus is on youth crime and OES. This is discussed more in chapter 9.
[58] See chapter 10 for final visual representations, original square, current (2204/5), predicted post redevelopment.
[59] Interview with local Trader – spring 2003
[60] Interview with local Trader – spring 2003
[61] Newcastle city council has a history of franchising out consultation activities to stakeholder partners in the city itself. Examples of these groups are Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners & Price Waterhouse Coopers. Nathaniel Lichfield was responsible for generating the statement of community involvement in this case.
[62] This attendance is indicative of the flaws in the panel system noted throughout this project.
[63] Not all of the store keepers / local traders were interviewed despite attempts to be thorough, scheduling and timing of interviews proved difficult and some traders declined participation in the research project. However, none of those interviewed had been contacted by anyone regarding consultation or participated in this statement of community involvement.
[64] Though it must be noted that not all local traders on OES participated in this research project either as such those not involved in this research may have attended the meetings and not informed the other tenants and traders on the Georgian terrace. This group of traders seems to have no unified front.
[65] Interview with senior PTD representative

Chapter 8

[1] Connections can also be made here to literature on the subalternity of minority cultures, see footnotes in chapter 3.
[2] **What pressures and practices do they encounter from management and security organisations tasked with ensuring that the space realises its commercial and competitive potential?** This question relates primarily to the interplay of these groups and will be addressed fully when the intricacies of the interplay are unpacked in depth (chapter 10).
[3] See Hodkinson – chapter 3. The distinctive appearance of youth, and thus the distinctions made between youth as a collection of different 'others' is to be set up as an important factor in the wider management of youth as impacted by the reactions of the public to young people when they gather in numbers near or in public space.
[4] See Hodkinson – chapter 3. However this research focuses not on the night-time economies of youth but on their role in public space, as such more important in this spatial context are the patterns of distinction and use-value in public space grounded in the performance of activity.
[5] Rockers are a diverse group also with various labels ascribed to advocates of particular musical styles. Metallers followed Iron Maiden, Metallica and others, Glammies followed Glam and Hard Rock acts such as Motley Crue, Guns and Roses, Skid Row and Bon Jovi etc.
[6] Both the terms OES and the green will be used interchangeably to refer to this space throughout the rest of the thesis.
[7] This forms the basis of the discussion in the second part of this chapter where the key groups to whom the perception of youth is an issue will be developed. Further these issues link into the discussion of interplay in the final empirical chapter where the impact of these tensions on the effective management of OES can be addressed in more depth.
[8] The culture industry that supports these musically oriented and grounded subcultures is vast an intricate, as is the Goth subculture. For an in depth analysis and description of the rock music industry from this perspective see Bennet et al. (Bennet et al. 1993) for links from Newspapers to music, particularly Marylin Manson & Korn to Goth see (Martin 2002).
[9] Interview with Male Goth – Age 15 – Summer 2002
[10] See for example '*Ex- The Glasgow Goths*' (Fotherington 2002)
[11] now an online magazine
[12] There are several online facilities that people use for communicating with each other. Many Goths from different generations use message boards though there is a slight separation between the 'lost resort' used by younger Goths and 'Tainted lover' used by older clubbers.
[13] Interview with female Goth - aged 21 – summer 2001
[14] For more on punk see Hebdige (1979), for more on rock, metal and goth see Widdicombe and Woofit (1995: 13-14) Recently also there are increasingly connections to an emergent movement of 'cyber goth' linked to clothing labels such as 'Cyberdog' and bands 'Apotygma Beserk', this can be connected to the youth cultural movements in South East Asia in the 1980's and 90's and this style is becoming more influential in the Western world at present (Rucker et al. 1993).
[15] Interview with local Female university student – Age 19 – Summer 2002
[16] Interviews tended to show that the majority of young people came from the Jesmond and Gosforth areas, though this is far from conclusive as many travel from outside of the Newcastle area to come into the city centre. Further research of a qualitative nature would be needed to make this into any form of solid empirical statement and regional variations lend themselves towards a broad trend rather than a specific rule in socio-economic classification. Here the disconnection from the family has been made to emphasise the public as a place disconnected from the roles engaged in elsewhere, however the interconnected nature of identity precludes that reference must be made to other spheres of existence, family, school, work are all art of these however they will not be advanced in great depth in this research. There is also danger of fetishising these groups and romantification of any group is not the target of this research, here I seek to show both the pro's and con's but more importantly the distinctions that make each group unique.
[17] Brandon Lee's untimely death during filming of the Crow instantly elevated him to the status of a cult icon. Supported by information garnered from a range of interviews this can also be connected to issues of philosophy (such as meaning in life and death), technology, the separation of mind and body and science fiction amongst other developmental debates on the nature of the mind. These are issues that fascinate many Goths and can be connected to wider interests of other groups. Also, however Goths are significant in their bold adoption of the stylistic aesthetics of such media products. Trinity,

seen in the promotional figures is a good example of the appropriation of female 'cyber' gothic style commercially by larger cultural industry.

[18] A message board / web-ring of this nature are often a non-profit system which offers the facility for an initial post to be made setting up a thread for conversation. Conversation with other users of the web-ring / message board is conducted via a series of postings made under the initial heading to which any internet user can respond. Identities can be created and customised for regular users by registering to the service. This can include a code-name or web-identity, a custom picture which will flag up the users, a classification (e.g. Goth / Charver) which is posted beneath the name of the user on each post and other idiosyncrasies such as footers on messages. This is often a piece of poetry or a lyric from a favourite song for many of the Goths. These message boards exist for Charvers as well. On the sand-dancer web-ring the Goths notice board is called 'the Green' and the Charvers notice board is called 'the Bus Stop'. Much of the discussion on this message board is related to the competitive abuse of each other by Goths and Charvers. It should also be noted that there are several of these facilities and several of them are set upon by users of OES and compete online to be the 'official website', a brief internet search in this area will flag them up but for the purposes of the research I have [predominantly used the sand-dancer message boards.

[19] The use of this term here does not reflect a wider terminology used by Goths; it is simply an indicator of this individual's relation of a sense of superiority. The underpinning narcissism is applied in peer groups through collective distinction of appropriateness in dress, i.e. they look good they must be interesting. These kinds of distinctions come from a combination of observation and participation in the groups activities.

[20] Other examples of this can be developed with links to Satanic Black metal in the 1980's, particularly in Scandinavia where several groups of rival musicians ala Satanic church's conducted gang warfare with several fatalities and a wide-range of activities including church burning. The 'jet-lag' of this 'fear of the dark side' still exists to varying extents in the portrayal of Gothicism today.

[21] See Hodkinson's research (2003). This is the first substantial academic expose of the widespread influence that Goth culture has had in terms of youth cultural trends over the last 50 years. However it does emphasise the more mature Gothic culture of older teenagers and professionals who have traced through Gothic style from the 1980's traditions.

[22] Interview with local Goth DJ – Age 22 – Summer 2005

[23] Interview with Male Goth – Age 17 - 15/12/03

[24] See chapter 3.1 or for more examples of this in research see (Hodkinson 2002: 56-58) As Hodkinson's work with Goth's as an informed insider showed the style is a significant elements of aesthetic judgements made by Goths but only as a means of distinguishing those that 'belonged' to their group.

[25] The interviews specifically focussing on the Goth youths were conducted in two ways. The first was a series of interviews with local Goths in and around pubs and clubs frequented by people of this persuasion. These themed 'rock bars' are used as key meeting places en route to the night time activities such as 'clubbing'. The interviews with younger 'teenage' 'greenies' were conducted in small focus groups and one-on-one interviews on OES itself during weekend, evening and school holiday periods. By combining these two areas of study looking both at current youth users and those who had either graduated from this group or moved into the area and become aware of them the picture of who and what these people think they are, and the boundaries of collective distinction were established. Approximately 15-20 formal interviews and a range of field notes from informal discussions and observation reflect the compilation of this qualitative data.

[26] though as time goes on there are more punks also coming into the area as this fashion has been growing more popular

[27] This is developed next in chapter 8.2. The focus is on managerial subgroups, but other key actors and demographics can also fit into this interplay as has been discussed in the theoretical subsection of this thesis (chapters 2-5)

[28] For examples of this research and more information on the origins of skate culture see (Borden 2000; Flusty 2000; 2001b; 2001a; Wooley & Johns 2001)

[29] It should be pointed out that gothicliffe's quote attracted a great deal of abuse online from both charvers and Goths, it was seen as pretentious and over dramatic by many people engaged with the subculture online.

[30] These media products cover all forms of urban performance within the range of activities of this type, including skating, BMX, inline skating and wider connections to off-road sports and motor-cross etc through the sporting events such as the gravity Games and the X-games. Magazines supporting this can be seen in any news agency and cover specialist groups such as skateboards, rollerblading (inline

skating), BMX (both street, park and off-road). A few examples of these magazines are Unity, Sidewalk and Kingpin. See the figures of influences in chapter 8.1

[31] See chapter 9 – also reference made to consultation by the Brunswick Young Peoples Projects (Thompson 2001)

[32] Interview with Male Skater at Haymarket – Age 13 – summer 2003. Johnny Knox is a member of the Jackass team. Jackass is a program on MTV which follows the reckless stunts and antics of a group of 'mature' Skaters as they try and perform incredibly reckless stunts. It has gained international notoriety over the last several years and has been elevated to the legendar6y status amongst Skaters due to the extreme skill of the Skaters, the extreme recklessness of the stunts and has even spawned a string of clothing lines, reinvigorated the fortunes of several products through the significant members of the group wearing them, such as 'Converse' baseball boots as in the quote, and has an international movies based on their exploits released in 2003 (Jackass: the movie)

[33] Map supplied by Nexus & Newcastle University – NOTE – Whilst this is a general outline of areas where skating or BMX's have been noted over the course of two years. These areas are subject to change and to flexible usage. This outline is intended to give a visual *impression* of skating areas not define and denote them unconditionally.

[34] See also www.chavspotting.com

[35] In developing this group work in underclass theory and research can be linked into Charver identity by a reading of the contentious work of Charles Murray, and its influence on political language relating to disadvantaged communities and anti-social behaviour in the UK. A less problematic connection can be made through the work of Rob MacDonald reflecting upon the nature and attitudes of people and youth from low-income communities such as the East end of Middlesbrough and the west end of Newcastle. For more on these authors see **INSERT REFERENCES**

[36] Stylistic variations of this have seen the laces removed and extra pairs of socks worn as the laces are untidy and get in the way of the shoes being seen by their peers. Image is very, very important to Charvers and is a key measurement of status amongst the peer group. Also this group can be tenuously connected to football hooliganism 'firms', distinct by their selective appropriation of certain labels in specific forms (BBCi 2002).

[37] See chapter 8.2 for more details on who gives this impression and for more depth on the development of perceptions of Charvers, Goths and skaters alike.

[38] Local satirical fanzine 'Newcastle stuff' has made frequent reference to this creating the Charver and Ashington dictionaries. Listings of new terms evolving in the region and offering interpretations of what they mean. Further research on this aspect of masculinity and culture as referred to in line with the evening economy by Nayak (Nayak 2003)

[39] Direct quotes from the data have not been used here as they break the narrative flow of the section, further much of the data gathered relating to tensions between Charvers / Chavs and Goths or skaters has been anecdotal and subjective. Clearer examples of difference are found in the online conversations as exhibited throughout this section. The researchers personal experiences of violence during the research, as discussed briefly in the footnotes of chapter 5, support this supposition as large groups of younger Chavs were boisterous and confrontational they were reluctant to actually engage in assault, where as on more than one occasion the researcher was physically attacked by groups of older Charvers on one occasion resulting ain a criminal charge being levied at the protagonist.

[40] Terms garnered from interviews with members of both groups. In this case the terms used by Charvers were insults levied at the researcher during a participant observation exercise on OES.

[41] This is born from the work of Thorsten Veblen on consumer culture in America (Veblen 1899), see also the discussion of Gottdiener and Bennet in chapter 3

[42] Recent documentaries (produced by BBC television) have supported this claim, that youth increasingly find meaningless violence entertaining. Evidence of a new form of bullying, linked to video phones and the filming of violence have been anecdotally linked to new media productions such as Jackass, World Famous for Dicking Around and Dirty Sanchez (on MTV) which exhibit violent 'stunts'; though this is subjective distinction of violence and intent, the trickle down of this behaviour is a concern amongst rhetoric's of yob culture in the media.

[43] I shall return to this issue of conflict in the discussion of policing strategies in chapter 9

[44] See chapter 9.3 for details on youth 'night' clubs

[45] Online references for further details can be found at:
http://icnewcastle.icnetwork.co.uk/eveningchronicle/eveningchronicle/tm_objectid=13261480%26method=full%26siteid=50081-name_page.html
and;

http://icnewcastle.icnetwork.co.uk/sundaysun/news/tm_objectid=13276042%26method=full%26siteid=50081-name_page.html

[46] The key emphasis here is on the relations in public space, however the electronic communications have yielded strong examples of identity driven tensions thus have been included to demonstrate awareness of tensions between the youth groups rather than activity driven conflict in situ. For more on virtual communication and its impact on alternative cultures see Hodkinson (Hodkinson 2002). The focus of activity in public space in this research, and specifically linking to OES, focuses these tensions spatially on the city centre, advancing the fact that whilst these tensions are exhibited across many different realms (from the family, school, virtual etc.) they are most relevant to hegemonic negotiations and participation, and thus the potential exclusion of young people from meaningful citizenship, through the public and spatial contexts.

[47] Linking to the fear of conflict/strangers/disorder & difference – see Furedi (2003) – 3.2

[48] As seen in the range of activities by other users even the target demographic do not only consumer in the city centre, there is a range of productive and work oriented association with service industrial labour in the consuming city centre, see for example Ritzer (1996; 1998; 1999; 2005)

[49] There are groups however who are not part of the managerial machinery discussed earlier (chapter 7), who have a powerful role to play in the perception of youth and in the wider creation of a culture of fear (Furedi 2002). These are discussed in chapter 9.1.

[50] Though examples from local and national television are also used to supplement these discussions where appropriate.

[51] An in depth analysis of media production and the role of media in society lies beyond the scope of this research. For an assessment of representation in the media see Geraghty (1996) , and for a wider assessment of the mass media in society refer to Curran and Gurevitch (1996).

[52] See also 'The Kids are alright' in the Sunday sub (Anon 2003d). This piece discusses the tensions between Charvers and Goths explicitly connecting Goths with the hippy movement of the 60s due to their pacifist ethics and demonising Charvers as the cause of territorial problems in and around OES.

[53] The store owner and staff of the main specialty retailer of key interest here, a gothic and alternative clothing store, declined to comment for the newspaper article. They also declined to engage with this research project despite several attempts to discuss matters and despite the fact that many of their neighbours had already been interviewed.

[54] An interview with Marylin Manson was conducted in relation to the columbine massacre by documentary filmmaker Michael Moore, in which Marylin Manson acquitted himself with sensitivity and panache, stating "I wouldn't say anything to them I would listen, and that's what nobody did". Representing open minded pacifism in the same sense as many young Goths and 'shock rockers'

[55] Most examples of media representations dealing specifically with Goths in the national press are simply loose polemics discussing the decline of Goth culture or the aging Goth culture discussed in Hodkinson's research, references to youths are generally disparaging but not offensive for examples check Guardian archive online under 'Goth', see for example (O'Rielly 2000; Cox 2003)

[56] TV cameras followed the home life of a Yorkshire pit family in the mid-late 1950's

[57] Interview with city centre Ward Councillor – Summer 2003

[58] **tergiversation** n 1: falsification by means of vague or ambiguous language [syn: equivocation] 2: the act of abandoning a party or cause [syn: apostasy]

[59] Interview with local trader – Summer 2003

[60] Interview with local trader – Summer 2003

[61] It is important to note that the parking meters were removed at the request of the shops who at the time felt that these meters were limiting the potential of pedestrian transit leading to their stores. Since the metres were removed the barrier has been lifted and the implicit divide between transit and recreational area has dissolved creating tensions in how this space is used more explicit. This is a good example of how minor changes can have a dramatic effect on the flow of people through an area and on the conceptual orientation of use in a public space.

[62] Sadly Kathmandu, the main youth service store on OES declined to participate in the research. However there are a wide range of opinions and distinctions to be made about the youth groups by these retailers and not all of these have been represented here. Not all of the stores replied to enquiries and some key stores, such as the specialist clothing store that has been frequently connected to the Goths declined to be involved in the research. This store has been connected by more than one interviewer to the reasoning behind the proliferation of youth in this area, but any connection of this kind can only be made superficially at best.

[63] Interview with senior CSC representative 2003

[64] This is supported by previous research onto the surveillance and security tactics used in private shopping areas, such as malls there is a wide range of literature on this theme (Hebdige 1983; Cuthbert 1995; Fyfe & Bannister 1998; Norris & Armstrong 1999; McCahill 2000; Toon 2000; Flusty 2001; Kelly 2003; McCahill 2003; Coleman 2004a; Klauser 2004). See also chapter 4 & chapter 9
[65] Interview with senior representative of PCS
[66] Interview with senior manager in PTD
[67] Interview with Gosforth Ward Councillor – senior councillor for the opposition 2003
[68] Interview with CCM 2003
[69] 'Vox-pop' interview with general public – female aged 30 – conducted on OES 2003
[70] 'Vox-pop' interview with general public – male aged 36 – conducted on OES 2003
[71] This has also been referred to in this text and in various council minutes and documentation as the Holocaust Memorial Day Working Group. No official distinction appears to be made between the two titles, but depending on the activity in which they engage this seems to be reflected in the use of the title and acronym.
[72] Interview with senior police official on the City Centre Control Panel – October 2003
[73] Focus group interview conducted with co-convenors of the Ex-servicemen's association – Summer 2003
[74] Focus group interview conducted with co-convenors of the Ex-servicemens association – Summer 2003
[75] Focus group interview conducted with co-convenors of the Ex-servicemens association – Summer 2003
[76] Focus group interview conducted with co-convenors of the Ex-servicemens association – Summer 2003
[77] Further details of the police and security agencies as intermediaries and of their actions at the interstices of interplay are in chapter 9.

Chapter 9

[1] Though this is inferential they general impetus of these individuals lies in their ability to move outside of the tactical limitations placed upon them in the structure of government in order to challenge themselves and stimulate the individual to new heights, thus improving the city for all. This appears highly subjective, but the individual within an organisation can stream the direction of activity in a given direction by force of will and action, this is one of many subtle institutional negotiations that occur behind closed doors in managerial institutions. Such institutional politics are part of the managerial culture of a civic institution. This requires further research to substantiate.

[2] Neighbourhood Services Directorate is one of the key subgroups within the city council affecting the sphere of activities with which we are here most concerned, the conceptual management and orientation of the public within management institutions, the coordination and development of strategic plans and policy for regeneration of that environment, and the managerial tactics of running and keeping the whole spatial flow of the city on track. It does this through a broad remit of several services, each with its own service based subgroups the most important of which for our research are detailed below. The full range of these broad subgroups covers a wide range of policies and tactics to deal with '*bin collections, repairs and maintenance, street cleaning, maintenance of green spaces, roads and pavements, street lighting, leisure and recreation facilities*' (Anon 2003g). Most of these groups are detailed here with divided as well into specific subgroups for dealing with aspects of the above within each;

- Street Services
- Design and Construction Services (City Design)
- City Buy
- Engineering Services
- Facility Services
- Policy & Resources
- Leisure Services (PCS, PYS on the *ALMO*)

[3] Interview with City Centre Services Manager – Summer 2004

[4] Interview with City Centre Services Manager – Summer 2004

[5] The CCSM exhibited a similar sense of dissatisfaction with the eventual rewriting of their contribution on public spaces in that document to that specified by Ward councillors. The perpetual redrafting and lack of knowledge as to who was doing what with what agenda in the corridors of power left some officers feeling disillusioned when they had put their own opinion into the rhetoric of urban renaissance in Newcastle upon Tyne.

[6] It was noted in several interviews that Newcastle City Council has consistently scored low in OFSTED reviews of youth services, however the researcher was unable to access these reports during data collection to confirm or disprove these statements which have been taken here on face value.

[7] Interview with Young People Participation Coordinator Newcastle City Council – Spring 2004

[8] These standards are entitled 'Hear by Right' and is implied in the title include both a spatial and participatory emphasis on the rights of young people to access space and services freely and equally to older constituents. The involvement of youth in parliamentary processes is emphasised along with the importance of applying youth consultation and participation to policy in a realistic manner, i.e. actually allowing youth opinions to change policy rather than dismissing it out of hand which is the general tendencies of local government in Newcastle in particular.

[9] Interview with Young People Participation Coordinator Newcastle City Council – Spring 2004

[10] ...and the newly launched 'Alreet.com' offering an online facility for information exchange and dissemination.

[11] The YPPC has also moved into another post during the data analysis period of research. Another of the key problems is maintaining the chain of communication within the council as this area of council has a comparatively high turnover of staff making mobilisation of this service as a whole extremely difficult.

[12] Interview with Young People Participation Coordinator Newcastle City Council – Spring 2004

[13] Interview with city centre 3rd sector agency - summer 2002

[14] A member of Streetwise sits on the CCP, the BYPP have conducted research on young people's opinions in the city centre and Swingbridge have run a number of consultations over more than 20 years covering a wide range of youth issues. Most recently the Grainger town project was linked to youth concerns over the city centre redevelopment; this consultation has been referred to by more than one interviewee as 'top-notch' but the application of it lacking making it appear as 'lip-service'.
[15] Interview with VCS agency in the city centre - Spring 2002
[16] Interview with city centre VCS agency - Summer 2002
[17] Interview with Chair of the Ex-servicemen's Association summer 2003, see also chapter 6
[18] Old Eldon Square Working Group – October 6th 2003, Newcastle City Centre – Committee Room, 4-6pm
[19] See typology of space in PGSS, chapter 8.1
[20] Hegemony – ref Muir (2004), see also chapter 3.2
[21] Interview with Chair of the Ex-servicemen's Association summer 2003
[22] Interview with Chair of the Ex-servicemen's Association summer 2003
[23] Interview with Local beat commander – February 2004
[24] Interview with Local Traders – Spring 2003
[25] For more details of this refer to the selected local press clipping throughout the thesis, in these articles specific members of the local trading community are singled out by reporters. Often these individuals have been anecdotally linked to excessive complaints and misrepresentation of youth, but equally young people are known to occasionally antagonise these specific people more so than others friendly to their presence. This is all of course informal and thus remains a footnote.
[26] Interview with senior police official on the City Centre Control Panel – October 2003
[27] Interview with senior police official on the City Centre Control Panel – October 2003
[28] Interview with senior police official on the City Centre Control Panel – October 2003
[29] Interview with mid-management police Officer – January 2004
[30] Due to the new data protection act access to the incident reports was conducted via proxy. A police official accessed the report and made measured judgements in the content before relating key points such as – nature of the report / incident, outcome of the incident, charges brought or specific actions (often no action) and made subjective judgements on the cultural orientation of the protagonists where visual data was available on Goth or charvers or skaters, these are exhibited in table form as an appendix at the rear of the research.
[31] Interview with City Centre Services Manager – Summer 2004
[32] Interview with Young People Participation Coordinator Newcastle City Council – Spring 2004
[33] See below – Neighbourhood Services. City Design operate as a private design company but from within the council, as such they are linked into many of the basic design schemes undertaken by PTD
[34] Interview with Ward Councillor - Moorside Ward – Summer 2004
[35] Interview with Local Trader – Spring 2003
[36] Interview with Local Trader – Spring 2003
[37] Interview with Goth Youngster – age 14 male – Summer 2004
[38] Access to the pedestrianised slip road for motorised transport is limited further, after the completion of the initial works. This has further raised the ire of traders some of whom now have difficulties receiving deliveries and getting access to supply in a pedestrian-oriented space.
[39] Interview with City Centre Manager - Summer 2004
[40] Interviews conducted during 2003.
[41] Interview with Moorside wards councillor, associated with transport themes – Summer 2003
[42] Interview with manager of Voluntary and Community Sector agency in the city centre – Summer 2002
[43] Interview with senior police official on the City Centre Control Panel – October 2003
[44] This is the raw connection between Goths and charvers suggested & discussed earlier in some depth in chapter 8.
[45] Interview with senior police official on the City Centre Control Panel – July 2003
[46] For more on this you can search the national newspaper archives for former minister Blunkett's media crusade against Yobs.
[47] Interview with senior police official on the City Centre Control Panel – July 2003
[48] Significantly the Eldon Square mall camera network is operated independently of the police, whereas for example the Centre for Life (Time Square) has a direct link to the police station allowing the police

operators to take control of the network by remote if necessary. Each of these systems has an independent code of conduct; this is at times inferred rather than documented despite current legislation demanding a written code of conduct for surveillance operators.

[49] this is a loophole in current legislation where by the code of conduct for surveillance operation does not cover the actions of operators in the conduct of a targeted surveillance but instead focus on data protection and image or data handling concerns (in line with the Data Protection Act 1998). This leaves the vagaries and prejudices of individual operators free to roam in the conduct of surveillance. A lone operator is unmonitored and can use the system in anyway they see fit, though this may not be the case in the case of the police system in Newcastle without more information on the operation guidelines and code of practice (which despite numerous requests was not proffered) the sanctity or lawfulness of this system cannot be verified

[50] Interview with Watch Commander & surveillance operatives at Market Street Police Station – November 2003

[51] Without further interviews with Capital Shopping Centres (CSC) security officers no real connection can be made in terms of social exclusion to tactics of surveillance.

[52] Interview with beat policeman – Spring 2003, interviews with Goths on the Green Easter holidays 2003

[53] Interviews with local traders 2002-2003

[54] See appendices for summary of incident reports - January 1st - March 31st 2003

[55] Interview with Beat commander – Autumn 2003

[56] These have been generally limited to sections 3 & 4 of the public order act. Only section 4 offences have resulted in a conviction at this stage.

'*It is an offence under* section 4 of the Public Order Act 1986 *if you use threatening, abusive or insulting words or actions towards somebody else, and:*

- *You intend the other person to fear that violence is going to be used; or*
- *The other person is likely to expect violence; or*
- *Violence may well be provoked.*

This offence is normally used where threats, abuse or insults are likely to cause a breach of the peace: rival football supporters hurling abuse, threats at the picket line, abusive language by rival demonstrators. The charge is often used against protesters who, in the view of the police, go beyond the bounds of ordinary protest, but in all cases the behaviour must be directed towards another person. It is also an offence if threatening words are on a banner or placard or even on a T-shirt or badge. The offence can only be tried in the Magistrates' Court; there is no right to trial by jury. The maximum penalty is six months' imprisonment and/or a fine of £5,000' (Liberty 2000)

[57] See Swingbridge

[58] Map template supplied by Nexus and Newcastle University

[59] Interviews with chair of the ex-servicemen's association and the original convenor of the OESWG – a council officer in PCS – 2002/2003.

[60] Interview with Moorside & South Gosforth Ward Councillors - Summer 2003.

[61] It is important to note that BMXs' also used to be common in this area but now are predominantly found at the skate park, or in other liminal sites. Riders interviewed were much older than the majority of skateboarders interviewed, some were long term unemployed and most were in their late 20's as such falling beyond the boundaries of the definition of youth applied in this research, they are still active 'players' in this sense but have been left on the sidelines to maintain the narrative focus on youth.

[62] Similar was true of the refurbishment of an area outside the civic centre where barriers were left in place for some time after the completion of works repairing a walkway that had previously been damaged by skaters. This area is also now covered by a bye-law and is also still used for skating when the opportunity is there.

[63] China Town is one street running between Gallowgate and Stowell Street, it is dominated commercially by Asian and other ethnic restaurants which have leaked through the area, further to which the Gate a massive cathedral of leisured consumption completed in 2002 backs onto this area linking the commercial heart of the city to this marginal ethnic minority-themed consumption area.

[64] Unfortunately despite several attempts to interview the manager and owners on this subject no further information has been gathered in this point, several employees and young people in attendance have theories on the matter but these are unsubstantiated at this time.

[65] Interview with young people in the city centre 2003/04. Significantly there were rumours of a stabbing which occurred in this venue during this time; however this is unsubstantiated by both the police and the anecdotal responses from youth – some who confirm others who deny such an occurrence. The managers of WHQ, whilst acquiescing to take part in the research were unable to commit to an interview (ongoing for over 6 months) and therefore have not been consulted as a part of this research.

[66] It is important to note that whilst these were what young people claimed to want to see when asked how they wanted the council to respond to their requests, in terms of 'setting priorities', the answer rate dropped considerably and the percentages changed in terms of what young people thought was a realistic response from those tasked with managing youth needs in the city centre. The highest priorities for young people were less police harassment (19%), a centre for young people in the centre of town (18%), and improvement youth leisure facilities (11%) though there was no clear cut image of what form this should take (Thompson et al 2001: 7).

[67] This term is used affectionately by many people to refer specifically to the Goth crowd, but in general to young people who feel attached and gather regularly at OES Eldon Square / The Green

[68] Interview with Voluntary and Community sector representative – Summer 2002

[69] Interview with convenor of skate park consultation & design steering group – Summer 2004

[70] Interview with convenor of skate park consultation & design steering group – Summer 2004

[71] Interview with Ward Councillors – 2003/04, also mentioned by Voluntary and Community sector agency representatives in follow up interviews conducted in 2003/04.

[72] Skate Consultation panel – June 2003

[73] www.alreet.com

[74] Internal Council Memorandum 2002 – provided by Parks & Countryside

[75] Skate Consultation panel – January & June 2003

[76] Meeting of skate park steering group – minutes prepared by Sue Stokel-Walker

[77] Interview with Senior Voluntary and Community Sector representative in the city centre – Summer 2002

[78] Informal focus group of skaters held at temporary skate park event – Mela festival 2002, sentiments were echoed by skaters and BMX riders in informal discussions held before and after skate park design steering group meetings 2002 /2003

[79] Interview with senior PTD representative

[80] Interview with Focus group of Goths & a neutral Charver – Easter weekend 2004

[81] Interview with local trader – July 2003

[82] The officer responsible for the city centre was on sick leave during the critical period of data collection and no further data was forthcoming from the Anti-social behaviour unit.

[83] Mail interview with Anti-social behaviour Officer – City Centre Police – May 2005

[84] See Appendices for details of ABSOs

[85] Cited in Fuller et al (Fuller et al. 2003: 130)

[86] Interview with Senior City Centre Police Official – December 2002

Chapter 10

[1] See Print Media (Campbell 1993a, 1993b; Phillips & Kettle 1993; Slapper 1993; Sudjic 1996; O'Rielly 2000; Hetherington 2002; Cox 2003; Prasad 2003; Ellis 2004; Hastings 2004; O'Farrel 2005) and online and television references (BBCi 2002, 2003; Casciani 2003; Jackson 2003; Ross 2003; Anon 2004b; Assinder 2004; Wheeler 2004; Burchill 2005).

[2] There are problems in interpreting these issues at a regional and local level, institutions such as the ATCM give guidance and develop best value practices with an alternative, accelerating more commercial emphasis in strategic planning which it can be argued trickles down to local management through the varied interpretations of national policies such as urban renaissance. Such groups and tensions have been developed in this first discussion of interplay (4.1), however the main focus of this research remains at the local level, assessing specific spatial tensions in the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne.

[3] The key example proffered here was that of skateboarding demonstrating the harmlessness and at once anti-sociability of this form of urban experience due to differences in the perception of its differential and representational reality in the context of a separate and distinct conceptual prescription of public activity (4.2)

[4] As seen in the interviews with Planning & Transportation (PTD) officials and senior Capitol Shopping Centres (CSC) representatives (chapter 7)

[5] See notes on Civic Pride in chapter 7

[6] Interview with CCM – Summer 2003

[7] Interview with local trader – July 2003

[8] Interview with CCM – Summer 2003

[9] For more information on existing BID initiatives see Birmingham 'Broad Street BID' (Hewlett 2005) and the Circle Initiative in London (CentralLondonPartnership 2001)

[10] Reference has also frequently been made to American examples in demonstrating the successes of BIDs (N.C.C 2004) but these are often similar to early incarnations of entrepreneurially driven spatial projects that have been flagged up in research - as potential gentrification - as early as 1981 (Stephens et al. 1981; Zukin 1995; Defilippis 1997).

[11] Interview with senior PTD official

[12] This is flagged up throughout this concluding section in several places but for more details review the reports and actions on the Librety human rights group website (www.liberty.org.uk)

[13] Significantly little distinction is made in the press between the criminal representations of Chav or increasingly 'Yob' culture and the baggy hooded tops of Skaters which are very similar (Allen & Roberts 2005) or the pale faces and steel jewellery preferred by Goths. Difference is noted more in positive stories in the light of the self-perception of young as exploited and harassed by other such as the police or oppositionally distinct youth groups.

[14] Interview with beat commander – January 2003

[15] Interview with Goth youth – Male (15) Easter break 2003

[16] Though with regard to the ongoing skate development youth were central to consultation practices, this suggests thematic targeting of consultation under highly questionable definitions of what constitutes community in the city centre.

[17] EX-Glasgow Goths BBC documentary ref aired Wednesday, February 11, 2003

[18] The national policy is developed from a combination of *macro* influences on governance of the nation-state and the *micro* influences filtering up through local and regional government and Voluntary and Community Sector lobbies, fed by the negotiations with the general public this becomes the foundation of policy which filtering from the top-down back into regional and local structures of governance informs the *meso* level of hegemonic policy generation, itself informing the local strategic decision-making. This macro level of governance is referred to in chapter 2.2 but lies largely beyond the remit of this research, for more information on these tensions see Smith (Smith & Timberlake 1995; Smith 1996, 2002)

[19] For details refer to http://www.everychildmatters.gov.uk/

[20] This is also often site specific to particular redevelopment projects – such as the Gate, Baltic Gallery or Eldon Square bus concourse – and specific themed interest groups – such as the Ex-servicemen's

Association (at the Newcastle City Council) and the local traders (at Northumbria Police Central Command).

[21] See Clegg (1989) in Muir (2004)

[22] See Skeltcher et al. (1996) cited in Muir (2004)

[23] See Zukin for landscapes of power (Zukin 1992), vernacular of power refers to the method through which design is implanted as a conceptual exclusion thus excluding through spatial manifestation of conceptual dominance in the regeneration of a space physically, thus as 'representations' of 'conceptual space' as renaissance when it is in fact exclusion, using the demography's of citizenship as a measure of inclusion and growth reproducing and emphasising the fallacy of inclusive urban redevelopment. The landscape thus privileges the vernacular through a skewed hegemonic practice of power by managers.

[24] There are also clear tensions between the treatment of space and policy when applied at different levels of the urban for example the predominantly residential suburban community experiences the pressures and practices of urban renaissance and the rolling out of policy and tactics of youth management in different ways from those strategies and tactics enacted within the more commercially oriented city centre. This is a key policy tension that has not been developed writ large in this thesis but is an area where this research intends to develop in the future.

[25] This is quite common as an occurrence. Young Goths often arm themselves in order to be able to defend against attacks from Charvers. The police made efforts to advise them that in the event of an attack the weapon would most likely be taken away from them and used against them, ion the event of confrontation of this nature emerging they should always contact a police officer. Incidents of this nature have declined since discussions with young people were pushed as an operational tactic; however they still occasionally occur, as in this case. Unfortunately though the officer advised that the likelihood is strongly in favour of a Goth, there is no confirmation of the group I.D. of the youth in question.

[26] At this point the officer demonstrated deeper knowledge that many in relation to the sub-groups of youth in the city centre. Clearly distinguishing not just the look / style of different groups but the differences in their identities, actions, social background and rivalries in the city centre, and the problems this causes for policing an alarm call such as this from a parent. E.g. "a Skater is different to a Goth but you can't always tell just by looking at them."

[27] This is a good example of confusion in the policing of the OES area. This event was in fact related to an area within Eldon Square Mall. Just off (Location – Chevy Chase?) there is an access passage with cash points, a fire exit and the entrance to the CSC on site offices for the mall. This alley is between Tie Rack and the Teddybear shop (confirm name), there are several benches here that have been over the years used by youths, particularly Goths on the weekends for getting out of the bad weather (rain etc). In this case a report had been made by an adjacent barber shop by the offices themselves that youths had been urinating on the shutters to his business. No proof was available to support this claim and no arrests were made.

[28] Petty Theft is by far the most common complaint linked to OES by the police. It is often treated, where no immediate proof is available, as an insurance claim. A crime number is given (as appropriate) and no further action is often available to the police, that is, unless the victim can offer information / proof of the crime or identify the thief. The suspicion, though there is little solid proof is that again it is the Goths who phone in the reports and the Charvers usually responsible for the theft, but in the light of a severe lack of empirical proof this is merely inferential at best based on the experiences of the officers interviewed.

[29] In this case a girl had left her bag unattended in a pile on a seat in the alley previously discussed, inside Eldon Square Mall. On her attempt to retrieve it the ownership of the bag was disputed by another girl, with her friends. Who then proceeded to walk away with the bag claiming "That's not yours, its mine". No official group I.D. was made but the suggestion in this case is that the victim was a Goth and the small group / gang of girls were Charvers, this is, as above, unsubstantiated by the incident report.

[30] The report claims that there were 3 or 4 people involved in the attack. 1 female (leader of group) attacks the Goth girl, hitting her in the face, a second female attacker then steps in and begins attempting to throttle the Goth girl. The group then make off before any intervention is possible. No I.D. could be made on the attackers so no further options were available for the police. *N.B. At this point it becomes clear that phone calls and reports from the green are nearly always, if not ALWAYS, made by Goth youths never Charvers.*

[31] See Appendix for breakdown of charges – Public Order Act 1986. Detaining suspects under Breach of the Peace as an offence is not a crime, and is not 'crimed' by the officer in the report. Rather it is a tool used to diffuse situations where the officer may not have been present or did not see the offence. This

allows police officers to detain suspects, without arrest, until the tension in a situation has been mollified. The Suspects will either subsequently be charged with the offence once details have been clarified of their role in the events, or they will be released under their own recognisance once the potential disorder has been resolved / diffused.

[32] Relatively frequently young people reported missing from home will be located on OES. The high density of youth users in this area will often mean that people may suggest "They like going to the green, look for them there" or similar comments, thus the police often keep an eye open for missing or lost youths in the area.

[33] There is no photograph to suggest that the boy in question was a Goth or Skater however the area in which he lives, is a suburb well connected to the Middle-Class youths that come into the city and in the eyes of the police (as well as other interviewees) these are often predominantly Goth's.

[34] After speaking to youths in the area officers decide the report to be based on a mistaken perception of intentional violence in the horseplay of the young people on OES.

[35] In this case the victim was highly uncooperative with the police. Refusing to make a statement, he was sent to hospital and upon arrival checked himself out after being unpleasant and aggressive to the hospital staff. The offence was 'crimed' as an Assault, Section 47, this is the second lowest level of assault being based on 'bodily pressure' resulting in 'minor bruising, cuts and abrasions'. No further action was possible as a result of the victims behaviour, though it was suggested that he was pursued further with regard to his conduct towards hospital staff.

[36] The description seems to indicate a Goth youth. The black clothing & jeans, and significantly the pocket chain which is a particular accessory used by Nu Metallers (as the main sub-group of teenage 'Goth' culture) would seem to indicate a group of Goths. However this is again inferential at best.

[37] The discussion here turned to the fact that many of the shop owners did not report crime, would not give statements in relation to specific incidents and were often unhelpful in the pursuit of crime in the area, a level of expectance is levelled at the police that without community participation cannot be realised. This seemed to set up a sense of frustration in the officer about the ability of the police to realise the publics expectations in terms of maintaining order and even a certain exasperation at the wilful misunderstanding of their powers in relation to many youth related offences, which are not offences under the law.

[38] As in the previous case there is a couple of minutes time delay between the call coming in, being logged as a crime and instructions sent out (where appropriate) to officers informing them that they must attend a location, travel time and then investigation which results in many of these cases (both this and the incident directly before it) becoming somewhat farcical. Youth will potentially even be warned by indignant shop keepers that the police have been called, thus they will immediately vacate the area before the arrival of the investigating officers.

[39] The description suggests Charvers but is inconclusive, inferential at best.

[40] The protagonist in this case is the same individual who was responsible for a Breach of the Peace arrest earlier in the month (22/03/03 – 5:50pm) and is a known Charver female. The first offence was for being aggressive to an officer, this one is not recorded specifically due to the garbled nature of the message however an officer stayed on OES to "make sure it doesn't flare up again", this suggests that there was conflict between factions (wither Goth & Charvers of between subgroups of the larger subaltern cultural geography). Without further testimony it is impossible to confirm either way.

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